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ABSTRACT
                  While not an instructional panacea, peer involvement
in second language learning can provide a rich and productive
supplement to the second language classroom experience. It casts
learners and teachers into new roles that may lead to a variety of
benefits, enriching the total educational and social environment. The
systematic use of peer teachers and tutors is a much-publicized
practice in contemporary education, but information about it has not
been widely disseminated. While peer involvement programs are often
largely in response to practical needs, they also closely reflect
current views about how a second language is learned best. It is
widely applicable for learners of all ages and achievement levels and
for a wide variety of instructional purposes. The potential
pedagogical benefits include increased individualization, intensified
drill practice, and increased communication opportunities. Potential
socio-affective benefits include increased motivation, strengthened
cross-cultural understanding, self-concept and sense of
self-direction, and reduced inhibition. To be successful, peer
involvement programs must be thoughtfully planned, carefully
structured, and systematically monitored. If this is accomplished,
the technique may lead to a new teacher-learner relationship and form
the basis for more effective and meaningful second language learning.
(MSE)

PEER INVOLVEMENT IN LANGUAGE LEARNING

by Stephen J. Gaies

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[INTRODUCTION]

The last several years have created significant
challenges for the language teaching profession,
both in the United States and abroad. Growing
demands on learners, both children and adults, to
acquire proficiency in a second foreign language as
a means of economic and social mobility have pre-
sented many educational systems with new and unfore-
seen responsibilities. At the same time, however,
many foreign language educators are under growing
pressure to defend programs in the face of declining
enrollments, dwindling resources, and widespread
dismay over the failure of large numbers of students
to develop functional ability in a foreign language.

Thus a heightened sense of urgency surrounds
the need to make language instruction as effective
and meaningful as possible. The response to these
new challenges has been positive in a number of
ways. Teachers have been receptive to innovative
teaching methodologies. New materials and tech-
niques have been designed, many for essentially new
language-learning populations. Most of all, per-
haps, teachers have more fully recognized the need
to adapt and experiment. This more flexible atti-
tude has had an important by-product: It has caused
teachers to raise fundamental questions about what
goes on in classrooms. Teachers are newly examining
their own roles and the roles of their students.
They are asking themselves what, as trained profes-
sionals, they can best provide for their learners
and what learners themselves can contribute to the
language-learning process. Often such reassessment
of classroom practices has led to efforts to involve
learners more actively in their own and other learn-
ers' progress. Teachers are no longer simply paying

lip service to the idea of making language instruction more learner centered. Teachers have realized that learners themselves are a largely underused educational resource. Indeed, greater direct involvement of learners in the educational process may be critical to the task of meeting current demands for second and foreign language proficiency. In the classroom, in activities that supplement classroom instruction, and in settings in which formal instruction in a second language is simply not provided, learners are given the opportunity--and in some cases relied on--to assume greater responsibility for their own and their peers'/learning. More and more, it appears that peer involvement in second and foreign language learning is an idea whose time has come.

In this volume, the term *peer involvement* is used to designate what are normally referred to as "peer teaching" and "peer tutoring." Although the term is probably easily understood, it might be well to define it clearly from the outset. *Peer involvement* is the use of learners as models, sources of information, and interactants for each other in such a way that learners assume roles and responsibilities normally taken by a formally trained teacher. The distinction between peer teaching and peer tutoring has to do primarily with the stage at which learners interact with one another. The latter designates an activity that in some fashion follows teacher-led instruction, whereas the former more often refers to the interaction between learners that substitutes for teacher-provided instruction. For the purposes of this volume, observance of this terminological distinction is not necessary, since the various examples of peer interaction will be easily recognized as "teaching" or "tutoring." Thus the more general term, peer involvement, is used.

All too often, the unique benefits that learn-ers can offer each other have been ignored by lan-guage educators. In some language-teaching approaches, all but the most controlled interaction among learners has been explicitly discouraged. Now, however, this failure to recognize the contri-bution that learners can make to each other and to

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language teaching is beginning to give way to an
active effort to tap the potential of learners as
teachers and tutors. Active involvement of learners
with each other's progress is increasingly becoming
a planned component of language-teaching programs.

The systematic use of peer teachers and tutors
is a much-publicized practice in contemporary educa-
tion, with good reason: According to a 1978 esti-
mate, 10,000 cross-age tutoring programs (with
tutors and tutees at different grade levels) had
been operating in American public schools during the
previous ten years (Gray, 1978). Many bibliogra-
phies on the subject are several hundred entries
long. Peer tutoring has been the subject of several
books and monographs, particularly in the areas of
reading and special education. In comparison with
other subject areas, second and foreign language
teaching may appear to have given little attention
to the involvement of peers in the teaching/learning
process. This is a somewhat understandable but
nonetheless unfortunate misconception.

The view is understandable because reports on
peer involvement programs have appeared in a variety
of journals of limited circulation, each with its
own readership; a great deal of other potentially
useful information is even less widely disseminated.
This information lag is unfortunate, since dozens of
second and foreign language peer involvement pro-
grams have been successfully implemented. In many
respects, however, the potential for peer involve-
ment in language learning has had to be discovered
and rediscovered by individual teachers and program
administrators. If the profession were to become
more aware of the peer involvement programs that
have been developed, it might be willing to imple-
ment peer involvement more widely. One of the pur-
poses of this volume, which provides an overview of
peer involvement in language learning, is to bring
peer involvement to the wider attention of the
language-teaching public.

A number of points about peer involvement in
language learning are highlighted. First, while
peer involvement programs are often in large part a
response to practical needs and realities, they also

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closely reflect (and in some cases have been speci-
fically based on) current views about how a second
or foreign language is best learned. Many of the
direct benefits of peer involvement--an exposure to
language that is tailored to individual learners'
needs and abilities, increased opportunities for
genuine communication in the language, the develop-
ment of interpersonal bonds with a peer role model--
are among the ingredients considered necessary for a
second or foreign language to be acquired, and they
characterize productive language-learning situa-
tions. Many of the by-products of participation in
a peer involvement program, such as increased moti-
vation, greater cross-cultural understanding, a
stronger self-concept and sense of self-direction,
and reduced inhibitions, are likewise among the ele-
ments that both researchers and practitioners have
associated with successful language learners.

A second theme of this overview is that peer
involvement is widely applicable. Peer-teaching and
-tutoring programs have been successfully designed
for young children, for adolescents, and for adults.
They have been implemented for learners at all
levels of instruction, from beginning to advanced.
In many cases, the same program is intended to serve
the needs of groups of learners at very different
levels of proficiency. Peer involvement is as
applicable to foreign language learning as it is to
second language learning. It has been used success-
fully in settings where teachers, materials, and
other resources are abundant as well as in settings
in which little, and in some cases no, conventional
classroom instruction is possible. Peer involvement
programs have also been designed for a wide variety
of purposes. One basic purpose is to provide an
alternative to the "lock-step" nature of classroom
instruction; peer involvement programs allow for
differential pacing and more individualized activi-
ties. In many cases, peer involvement activities
essentially provide supplementary practice with
material presented initially in the classroom.
Another basic purpose of peer involvement is to pro-
vide language-learning activities for which the
classroom is inappropriate. Many peer involvement

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programs are aimed primarily at creating conver-
sation opportunities for learners; such programs
enable learners to use the skills they are acquiring
in meaningful, goal-directed activity. Other
programs have still other, sometimes more specific,
purposes, such as training learners to correct their
peers' written work and to learn from the correc-
tions of their fellow learners.

In many cases, the pedagogical aspect of a peer
involvement program is secondary to the social and
psychological effects. Many peer involvement
programs in second language learning are extensions
of the "buddy" system or the "big brother"/"big
sister" system; among their primary goals is the
establishment of relationships between second
language learners and fluent peers. The importance
of providing social and affective support for the
young language learner has been widely recognized;
it is also at the heart of programs for university
students and adults who are paired with a fluent or
native speaker. In foreign language learning,
learners at different levels of instruction are
often paired in a peer involvement program. Along
with the many benefits such programs can have for
the more advanced learners, there is the benefit for
the less advanced learners of interacting regularly
with peers whom they might wish to emulate. Such
interaction gives the less advanced learners visible
evidence that their language-learning goals are in
fact attainable, increasing their motivation and
determination. In all of the program types men-
tioned here, the potential for heightening cross-
cultural understanding for all participants is
widely recognized; in some situations, systematic
interaction between a language learner and a native
speaker provides an experience that large and often
impersonal whole-class instruction cannot.

To be successful, peer involvement programs in
language learning must be *thoughtfully planned,
carefully structured,* and *systematically monitored.*
This basic point is stressed throughout this volume.
The hope is that teachers and program administrators
who read this volume will want to explore further
the possibility of increasing the active involvement

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of their own students in each other's work and that,
following the models described in this volume, they
will adapt what has been done to their own particu-
lar needs and resources. New models of peer
involvement will thus be created.

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Research in language acquisition has not yet suc-
ceeded in explaining fully how people acquire a
second or foreign language. The field is in its
infancy, and many aspects of language acquisition
indeed remain difficult to investigate. Several
years of intensive investigation, however, have
yielded a general understanding of the process of
nonprimary language acquisition. In addition, cer-
tain myths about what is and is not crucial in
learning a second or foreign language have been
dispelled.

One such myth, which still has wide currency
among the general public, is that all that is
necessary for second language learning is sufficient
exposure. It is true, of course, that people do not
learn a second language without being exposed to it.
People cannot wake up one morning in community X
speaking the language of community Y. But simple
exposure to the language of community Y does not
ensure that the language will be acquired. The idea
that some individuals "have a knack" for picking up
a language also belongs to popular mythology; it is
virtually without support from language acquisition
research. Unlike viruses, languages are not con-
tagious. A person acquires a language largely as a
result of having interacted and communicated
meaningfully with more fluent speakers of the new
language.

The opportunity to use the language being
acquired in order to communicate is, along with
several related factors, a basic condition for
second or foreign language learning. Among the

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related factors listed by Dulay, Burt and Krashen
(1982) are:

● the naturalness of the language to which
learners are exposed; that is, the language heard
should be directed toward communicating meaning
rather than exemplifying a particular linguistic
form;

● the availability of concrete referents; that
is, the importance, particularly for beginning
language learners, of topics that are physically and
temporally salient (often called the "here-and-now"
principle), so that learners have "visual aids,
motor activities, and other ... types of support to
help make the meaning of the new language clear"
(p. 26); and

● accessibility of target language peer models;
in other words, the opportunity to interact with
speakers to whom learners will be attentive and from
whom learners derive suitable affective support;
Dulay, Burt and Krashen (1982) summarize research
that suggests a preference for the variety of the
language spoken by one's own ethnic group and, what
is even more important for the present discussion, a
preference for peers over both teachers and parents.

Observation of what typically takes place in
the second or foreign language classroom will reveal
that in many ways it is far from an ideal environ-
ment for language acquisition. This is not to
suggest that most teachers would not wish it to be
otherwise; nor is it to imply that classrooms do not
provide a great deal that is useful. Rather, it is
in the nature of large-group instruction under the
control of the dominant figure of the teacher that
the necessary conditions for language acquisition
will generally fail to exist. In some ways, tradi-
tional large-group instruction is <u>insufficient</u> for
learners' needs; in others, it is <u>inappropriate</u> for
language acquisition. These points can be more
fully understood through a brief overview of the
structure of the conventional language classroom.

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WHOLE-GROUP LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION:
THE RULES OF THE GAME

The typical pattern of activity in the language
classroom is in many respects little distinguishable
from classroom activity in general. It is a pattern
that has a long history in education, one that has
largely resisted, at least until now, repeated calls
for reform. It centers on a stream of verbal behav-
ior, and is founded on a clearly drawn and carefully
maintained role distinction between teacher and
learner. These participants are assigned the domi-
nant and subordinate roles, respectively, in a
relationship that strongly shapes the events in a
typical classroom. In most classrooms, this rela-
tionship is forcefully expressed by the pattern of
classroom activity as well as by the teacher's
podium or the familiar image of a teacher standing
in front of a group of seated learners. In the
language classroom, the relationship may be even
more clearly delineated by the linguistic inequality
between teacher and learner, which is often a basic
fact around which classroom activity revolves. The
language classroom can be effectively portrayed by
posing and answering the following questions about
how verbal interaction is managed.

Who Talks?

All interaction requires a minimum of two par-
ticipants. In the language classroom, both teacher
and learners participate. The amount of participa-
tion differs greatly for the teacher and learners,
however; this is one of many effects of the teacher-
centered nature of language classroom interaction,
as well as classroom interaction in general.
Studies dating as far back as the beginning of
this century provide evidence of the disproportion-
ate amount of talking teachers do in classrooms.
Whether measured in terms of time, total number of
lines of a tape transcript, average length of speak-
ing turn, or in any other way, teachers do about

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two-thirds of the talking in a classroom. Little
evidence has been accumulated to suggest that
efforts to make students more active in the class-
room and to have them participate more directly in
the learning process have had any significant effect
in changing the proportion of their verbal partici-
pation in the classroom.

For language teaching, the conclusion is obvi-
ous: Learners spend a great deal of time listening
to their teacher, and to a much lesser extent to
other learners. The larger the class, the more
likely it will be that any one learner's speaking
time will constitute an insignificant proportion of
the total class time.

About What?

The teacher-centered nature of classroom
interaction involves more than the disproportionate
amount of talking teachers do. Even more reflective
of the dominance of the teacher in the classroom is
the typical way in which speaking turns and tasks
are managed. Teachers and learners have definite
interactional roles; the teaching/learning sequence
proceeds by a series of speaking turns initiated by
the teacher, as in the following exchange:

> T: Now let's go over the antonyms.
>   What's the opposite of light?
>
> L: Dark.
>
> T: Right.

When the teacher says, "Now let's go over the
antonyms," a task is being set. The teacher is
structuring a particular teaching/learning episode
(such sentences have in fact been labeled "struc-
turing moves" (Bellack, Kliebard, Hyman, & Smith,
1966)). In principle, such moves can be made by any
of the participants in a verbal exchange. In normal
conversation, people constantly structure and
restructure the discourse. Sometimes restructuring
is explicit, as when someone says, "Let's change the

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"subject" or, "Not that this has anything to do with it, but ...." Sometimes it is more indirect, as in, "By the way, what do you think about ...?" or "Yes, well, what else happened on your vacation?"

In classrooms, however, task-setting (and the structuring moves that accomplish this) is virtually the exclusive property of teachers. It is teacher who says, "Open your books to page 45" and, "Today we're going to review the irregular past tense forms we've been studying." The reason for this is evident: Setting the task is essentially a matter of topic control. What is talked about in the class-room—and in a larger sense what takes place in the classroom—is traditionally the responsibility of the teacher, who must implement the syllabus of the course. The teacher's job is to mediate between the syllabus and the learners, and this is done most efficiently when the teacher has firm control of the interaction.

Indeed, classroom episodes such as the follow-ing, in which a learner (L_1) makes a structuring move, are quite infrequent; when they do occur they seem exceptional:

> T: But, this is related to the moth but it's usually more beautiful. It has many colors, and it's, it's a very lovely ... insect. Is it an insect? Yeah? O.K., O.K.
>
> L_1: You don't know what's butterfly?
>
> L_2: I'm sorry, I don't ...
>
> T: Well, now ...
>
> L_1: You know that one I could have shown you, you know. I found one in garbage.
>
> T: You found a butterfly in the garbage can?
>
> L_1: Yeah.
>
> T: Really?

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In this episode, the learner attempts to continue the discussion on the topic of butterflies, a topic that had arisen more or less unexpectedly. Noteworthy are the teacher's attempt to regain control of topic ("Well, now ...") and the learner's refusal to acknowledge it. In many language classrooms, opportunities for learners to vie with teachers for control of topic are limited or nonexistent; even when such opportunities exist, learners generally play by the rules of the language classroom game, which place control of topic firmly with the teacher. Thus, what is talked about is overwhelmingly a matter for the teacher to decide.

According to What Pattern?

Another way in which interaction in the language classroom corresponds to that of classrooms in general--and also distinguishes interaction in the classroom from what is found in the more natural linguistic environment--lies in the pattern of participation. As mentioned earlier, teachers and learners have clearly different conversational roles. It is the teacher who sets or structures the task. Having done this, the teacher then sets the interactional exchange into motion by making what has been called a "soliciting" or "initiating" move. This move is generally in the form of a question, such as, "What did you do last night?" or; "What is the boy doing in the first picture?" Sometimes the move takes the form of an imperative, as in, "Tell me how many chairs there are in the picture" or, "Repeat after me: 'There are red flowers in the vase.'". In either case, the purpose of this turn is to elicit some verbal response from a learner (or, in cases in which unison responses are part of the teaching procedures, from the learners as a group). Many researchers have noted the irresistible force of asking questions. In Western culture, questions demand responses; refusing to respond to an initiating move creates considerable social tension. The authority of the teacher adds to the intrinsic power of the question form, and so ques-

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tions are an extremely effective means of setting classroom interaction into motion.

The next move is the learner's; the learner must respond to the solicitation. This move is followed by a final speaking turn by the teacher, who reacts to (often by evaluating) the learner's response. Thus, the pattern of participation is as follows: The teacher sets the task and asks a question (or in some other way elicits a learner's verbal participation); the learner makes a response; and the teacher reacts to the learner's response. The following episode reflects this basic pattern of classroom recitation:

T: Now, let's review. I'll give you a sentence, and you put it into past tense. "Mr. Smith eats breakfast." Maria?	*Structure* *Solicit*
L: "Mr. Smith ate breakfast."	*Response*
T: Good.	*Reaction*

The final part of the classroom teaching/learning cycle is important to note, since it is one of the most distinctive elements of classroom interaction. In ordinary conversation, one speaker typically reacts to what the other speaker has just said; indeed, it is by this means that conversations are sustained. Speakers indicate their agreement or disagreement with what their partner has just said, or react with surprise or some other emotion to what they have just heard. Often, a reaction can be followed up with another question to find out more about what the other speaker thinks or feels about a topic; other times, a speaker can simply make a reacting move and allow the other speaker to hold the floor. Two things are special about the reacting move in the language classroom. First, it is made almost exclusively by one participant (the teacher). Second, evaluation is based on criteria that are different from those that apply to ordinary conversations. This is so largely as a result of

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the goals toward which language instruction is conventionally directed.

For What Purpose?

The structure of language classroom interaction sketched so far reflects the structure of classrooms in general. Distinguishing the language classroom are the following two goals toward which language teaching has traditionally been directed.

Maximizing overt practice. Many language teachers have been trained to stress the development of aural-oral skills. For many, such skills are best developed by maximizing the verbal participation of learners. The more verbally "active" learners are, the more proficient they will become in understanding and producing speech. Thus, the ideal classroom has often been thought to be the one in which the greatest amount of verbal "activity" takes place. Teachers have been admonished to avoid "down" time in classrooms and to ensure that classroom interaction is as "efficient" as possible; that is, involving a rapid succession of speaking turns so that the greatest number of learners can participate the greatest number of times.

Stressing formal accuracy. The traditional importance that has been placed on the ability to produce structurally correct utterances in the target language has come increasingly under attack in debates about language-teaching goals and methodology. The problem, say critics, is that in the effort to have learners produce grammatically correct language, classroom interaction is created that is strikingly lacking in real communication of meaning. The questions learners are asked in class serve a very different function from questions people ask outside the classroom. While *referential* questions--that is, questions to which the speaker does not know the answers in advance--predominate in

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ordinary language use, *display* questions—that is,
questions whose overriding purpose is to have learn-
ers produce information already known to the asker--
are the dominant question type in the classroom.
Such questions make learners attend to the forms
they use to respond and require relatively little
attention to content. Thus, the reacting moves
that teachers make to learners' responses in the
classroom are typically directed less to the content
(the meaning) of the responses than to their formal
(linguistic) accuracy.

With What Effect on Different Learners?

Anyone who has taught—and indeed anyone who
has observed classrooms—has been struck by differ-
ences in the way learners respond to the classroom
and in the way they participate in classroom activ-
ity. Several factors account for the way learners
participate in the classroom. The principal factors
are the following.

Motivation. Much has been made of the impor-
tance of attitudes and motivation in language learn-
ing. These are difficult variables to measure, and
it is this obstacle that has most seriously hindered
progress in understanding their role in language
learning. Nonetheless, it is safe to assume that
students with positive attitudes about the language
and the people who speak it, and who have a strong
desire to be able to use the language proficiently,
are more likely to participate fully in whatever
classroom experience with the language is available.
The importance of attitudes for classroom lan-
guage learning is shown by research such as
Gardner's (1968) study of Navajo children learning
English. Gardner found that students' attitudes
toward English classes reflected their general atti-
tudes about the Anglo community and the degree to
which they felt they had access to it. Other stud-
ies (see, for example, Lambert & Tucker, 1972;
Saville-Troike, 1976; Schumann, 1978) have pointed

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up the interplay of parental attitudes, community
attitudes, and the attitude of learners toward the
target language and community.

Individual students' performance in the language
classroom is very often a carry-over of the atti-
tudes that shape their use of the language outside
the classroom. Exploratory research by Seliger
(1977), for example, suggests that learners who seek
out contact with speakers of the target language
outside the classroom tend to participate more ac-
tively in the classroom.

Ethnic style. Learners from different ethnic
and cultural backgrounds may respond differently to
the traditional large-group instruction that is
widely taken for granted. As several studies
(Boggs, 1972; Dumont, 1972; Philips, 1972) have sug-
gested, failure to recognize such differences may
lead to serious cross-cultural misunderstanding and
make the classroom experience even less effective.
One recent study (Sato, 1982) has demonstrated quite
forcefully that the factor of ethnic style can
create a vicious cycle in the classroom. Nineteen
Asian and 12 non-Asian students in two intermediate
English-as-a-second-language university classes were
compared. The Asian students responded to "general
solicits" (that is, soliciting moves by the teacher
directed to no particular student) significantly
less frequently than the non-Asians. Sato (1982)
also found that the two teachers called on the Asian
learners (that is, made "personal solicits") signif-
icantly less often than they called on the non-
Asians. It was concluded that the relatively
greater reticence of the Asian students to respond
to general solicits--to compete for a speaking turn
--may have caused their teachers to perceive them as
unwilling to participate and so call on them less
often. Thus, students who, as a result of their
ethnic style, did not avail themselves fully of the
opportunity for speaking turns in class and who
chose to rely on teacher-allocated turns--personal
solicits--were deprived to some degree of even that
opportunity for classroom participation.

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Personality factors. Like attitudes and moti-
vation, personality variables have proven extremely
difficult to investigate rigorously. However,
empirical evidence supports anecdotal observations
of the importance of particular personality traits
in language learning. In the language classroom,
factors such as self-esteem, inhibition, impulsiv-
ity, and self-confidence--to name only a few--
correlate to some extent with what learners derive
or fail to derive from the traditional language
classroom. What has made it especially difficult to
reach conclusions about the role of these factors,
however, is the nonlinear relationship that seems to
exist between many of these variables and classroom
performance or achievement.
     It is important to recognize that these fac-
tors, as well as others (for example, "cognitive
style"), cause learners to respond differently to
conventional large-group language instruction. They
shape learners' participation in the classroom and
the perceptions learners develop on the basis of
their classroom experience.

THE LIMITATIONS OF TEACHER-CENTERED, LARGE-GROUP INSTRUCTION

     Following is a list of the potential short-
comings, both immediate and longer term, of teacher-
centered, whole-group instruction.

Failure to Provide for the Individual Needs of Learners

     The tendency of large-group teaching to proceed
at a more or less predetermined rate through course
material will fail to accommodate all learners
equally well. Some students will lose interest in
activities they have already mastered; others will
have difficulty keeping up with the rest of the
class.

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Inhibiting Effect of Public Nature of
Whole-Class Instruction

Classrooms produce what Barnes (1973) calls an
"audience effect": The pressure of having to per-
form in front of a large group of fellow students
and the dominating figure of a teacher prevents many
students from taking full advantage of the learning
opportunities available.

Decreased Appropriateness of "Language
Use" Activities

By their very nature, activities that require
students to use the target language for real or
simulated communication cannot be controlled in the
same way that a teacher can regulate mechanical,
"skill-getting" drills. The speed with which stu-
dents perform communicative language tasks cannot be
controlled; nor can the teacher control the ways in
which learners will use their acquired knowledge of
the language in communicative activities. Further-
more, the public nature of classrooms already men-
tioned tends to make any attempt at communication
inauthentic; students tend to feel that they are
playing at communication, rather than actually using
the language purposefully.

Insufficient Opportunity to Learn
to Manage Discourse

In her review of the implications of discourse
analysis for classroom teaching, Kramsch (1981) sum-
marizes the findings of several critics of conven-
tional classroom instruction as follows: In the
classroom, learners have limited opportunities to
engage in "natural" discourse. Conversational
fluency requires more than an ability to respond to
questions and occasionally to report or describe
information. It requires competence in the manage-
ment of discourse (Candlin, 1976). Students have to
learn to signal a desire for a speaking turn, to

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extend discussion of a topic or to change topics, to
clarify meaning, to repair conversational break-
downs, and to comment on a previous speaker's turn.
In addition, students must learn to manage discourse
in ways that speakers of the target language will
find acceptable.

Insufficient Opportunity of Learners to Manage Their Own Learning

At some point, classroom instruction in a
language must end, and students must be able to make
further progress on their own. Teachers recognize
this fact; it is why a primary overall goal of edu-
cation is to help students "learn how to learn."

In reality, however, whole-group, teacher-
centered instruction often produces quite a differ-
ent effect. Allwright (1979) cited the following
ways in which the conventional second or foreign
language classroom prevents learners from taking
adequate responsibility for their own learning.

Frustration. Often learners are prevented from
discovering what they believe will best enhance
their own learning. Students have different learn-
ing styles, and unless opportunities exist for
learners and their teacher to discover how learning
can best be managed, many learners will eventually
feel frustrated.

Spoon-feeding. This practice can be roughly
described as "doing for learners what they could
more profitably do for themselves" (pp. 112-13).
For example, "it is possible to frustrate a learner
by providing a rule or an explanation when the
learner really believes ... that he or she will
learn best by being given an opportunity to work it
out independently" (p. 110). The problem of spoon-
feeding goes beyond this, however. In presenting
the language in small doses, by focusing learners'
attention on form rather than on meaning, and by

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judging learner performance primarily (if not exclu-
sively) on the criterion of formal accuracy, large-
group, teacher-centered instruction can create the
illusion that what learners will need to be able to
do with the language outside the classroom is being
adequately dealt with in the classroom. This prob-
lem may be particularly acute for younger foreign
language learners, who in most cases will not have
access to the target community and who therefore
have little way of knowing what the demands of nor-
mal language use are.

Demoralization. A learner whose expectations
become lower than his or her abilities would other-
wise indicate is said to be demoralized. Demor-
alization is easily bred in learners who believe
that their potential contribution to their own and
others' learning is undervalued.

Dependence-breeding. Another effect of
teacher-centered instruction is dependence on the
teacher as an "expert." This effect is insidious,
since everything a teacher may do to maintain high
morale in class, to sustain student interest, and to
make material easily understood may also cause
learners to become, unknowingly, "so dependent on
the teacher that, without him (i.e., in 'real-life')
they are, literally, helpless, like package tour
customers who have lost their [tour guide]" (p. 12).

PATTERNS OF PEER INVOLVEMENT

There is almost endless variety in peer in-
volvement programs. Because peer teaching and
tutoring programs are normally developed to meet
specific needs of particular students in a par-
ticular setting, no two peer involvement programs
are ever exactly the same. Nonetheless basic models

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or patterns of peer involvement in education can be
identified.

A basic distinction involves the relative age
or grade level of the peer participants. "Same-age"
programs are those in which tutors and tutees are at
the same grade level. A basic pattern of same-age
tutoring is *intraclass tutoring*,[1] which involves
students assisting one another within their own
class. In a larger program, students in one class
might work with students from another class at the
same level.

Several variations of the intraclass pattern
are possible; each has particular advantages for
different situations:

● students in an intraclass program may be ran-
domly paired or assigned to groups;

● students may be allowed to select individual
partners to work with or form small groups by them-
selves; or

● students may be paired or assigned to groups
according to certain criteria. Sex, race, personal-
ity, socioeconomic level, and achievement level are
all variables on which pairing and grouping proce-
dures have been based (for example, high-achieving
students may be paired with students with learning
difficulties, or students with different personality
traits may be deliberately paired).

The other basic type of peer teaching and
tutoring is the "cross-age" program. In such pro-
grams, tutors and tutees are at different grade
levels; the age difference between tutors and tutees
may range from one to several years.

One of the most common patterns of cross-age
peer involvement is *intergrade tutoring*. One
example of intergrade tutoring is when upper-grade
elementary students serve as tutors for students in
the primary grades. Although there are exceptions,
intergrade tutoring programs usually involve tutors

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[1] The terms used here are taken from Melargno (1976).

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at least three years older (three grade levels
above) their tutees.

In *interschool tutoring*, learners at the junior
or senior high school level may work with elemen-
tary-level students. The age differential between
tutors and tutees in this type of program is often
no greater than in intergrade tutoring. Interschool
tutoring, however, often presents more challenging
practical difficulties than intergrade programs,
since it often involves students in different build-
ings with different daily schedules.

In some interschool programs, students from
different educational systems may be involved in a
peer teaching or tutoring project. In a program
(Martin & Berka, 1980) described later in this vol-
ume (see pp. 72-73), bilingual Spanish-English
undergraduate students in science and engineering
taught science to Spanish-dominant elementary stu-
dents (K-8) enrolled in a transitional bilingual
educational program.

A third basic pattern of cross-age peer in-
volvement is *informal tutoring*, in which older stu-
dents supervise or participate with younger students
in out-of-classroom activities. This kind of peer
involvement often grows out of intergrade tutoring,
but it need not. Examples of informal tutoring are
the "buddy system" or "big brother"/"big sister"
programs that many schools have developed to provide
for students with social, behavioral, or other non-
academic difficulties.

Peer involvement in language learning can be
described to some extent, but not completely, in
terms of these basic patterns. This statement is
particularly true for second language learning
because learning a second language is not the same
as learning content subjects. In other subject
areas, skills can be roughly correlated with grade
level: Sixth graders tend to have greater skill in
mathematics than third graders do. Proficiency in a
nonnative language, however, is not directly con-
nected with age (grade level) to the same extent.
While students at any grade level may differ con-
siderably in their academic ability, the difference
is generally not so great as the difference between

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a native speaker of a language and a learner of the same age with limited proficiency in the language.

As a result, peer involvement programs in language learning should consider both the age of participants and their level of proficiency. A peer tutoring program in which native speakers tutor second language learner age peers is not identical to same-age tutoring programs in content areas. Conversely, second language classes are often made up of learners of different ages, and the in-class peer involvement activities that are designed should be based more on the shared level of proficiency of the students than on age differences among them. For these reasons and others, in describing basic patterns of peer involvement in second and foreign language learning, the terms "same-level" and "cross-level" ("level" referring to proficiency in the target language) are used.

Table 1.1 lists patterns of peer involvement in second and foreign language learning and explains how the various patterns should be understood.

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SAME-LEVEL

Intraclass (designed for use within a second or
    foreign language classroom; all participants are
    learning the same target language and are at
    about the same level of proficiency.)
                    NNS-NNS

                    CROSS-LEVEL

Same age (fluent speakers of the target language
    serve as peer teachers or tutors for age peers
    with limited proficiency in the language; an
    example for second language learning is the use
    of peer tutors with students of limited profi-
    ciency who have been mainstreamed, while in
    foreign language learning the use of interna-
    tional students as peer tutors is an example.)
                    NS-NNS

Intergrade (older, generally more proficient
    students teach or tutor younger learners.)
                NNS-NNS or NS-NNS

Reciprocal (two groups of learners, each fluent in
    one language and each with limited proficiency in
    the language of the other group, serve alter-
    nately as peer teachers or tutors for students in
    the other group.)
                    NNS-NS

"Informal" (more fluent, generally older, learners
    engage in activities with less fluent learners ———
    that are primarily intended to help the less pro-
    ficient learner integrate socially and academic-
    ally into a school setting; less explicitly built
    around language development activities.)
                NNS-NNS or NS-NNS

Table 1.1.   Peer involvement patterns in second and
              foreign language learning.

Note: NS = native or fluent speaker; NNS = learner.

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In this chapter, same-level, intraclass peer in-
volvement activities are examined. These activi-
ties, for students in the same classroom and at the
same level of instruction, are relatively easy to
design and involve considerably less procedural
planning than cross-level peer involvement.

Some activities can be used for peer teaching
or tutoring in the traditional sense, such as having
students serve as "respondents, informed sources or
monitors" (Kohn & Vajda, 1975) for each other. In
such *peer-mediated* activities, one or more students
take on a role that is ordinarily assumed by the
teacher. More advanced students--or students who
have learned a particular teaching point especially
well--work in pairs or small groups with less
advanced students. Another possibility is for pairs
of students to alternate as "teacher" and "learner."
Other activities can be more suitably thought of as
opportunities for students to learn cooperatively
through their participation in a peer-directed
activity. Through students' participation in activ-
ities such as games and problem-solving tasks, and
through efforts to communicate meaning through the
target language, learning can take place despite the
absence of a "teacher" or surrogate.

Peer involvement activities in the second or
foreign language classroom can also be categorized
according to the role they play in the overall
classroom teaching and learning process. Some are
intended for *periodic* use in the classroom, as an
occasional change of pace or supplement to frontal,
teacher-directed activity. Others are *ongoing* in

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nature and are a central feature of classroom orga-
nization and the classroom learning process. In
both cases, but particularly in the event that peer
involvement activities will be used extensively in
the classroom, these activities offer important
benefits; at the same time, however, they demand
that teachers reconcile themselves to playing a
somewhat different role than they are normally
accustomed to in whole-class activity under their
immediate direction.

Even when they constitute a modest proportion
of overall classroom activity, periodic peer teach-
ing and tutoring activities can provide a number of
benefits. All students enjoy variety in the class-
room, and the opportunity to interact with peers can
relieve the monotony of whole-class, teacher-
directed work. Even the most inspirational of
teachers can become a numbing force in the classroom
if students are exposed to nothing other than
teacher-led drills and exercises. In addition,
there will inevitably be times when, despite the
obvious need for additional practice, teachers will
feel compelled to move on to new material; addi-
tional practice that whole-class teaching cannot
provide economically can often be derived much more
efficiently from pair and small-group work.
Finally, peer-led activities, even if used only
occasionally, may be the best vehicle for stimu-
lating communication in the target language; com-
municating with peers is a natural--more "authentic"
--setting for the use of language, and students who
are reluctant to perform in front of an entire
classroom may be quite willing to express themselves
to a fellow language learner.

As an integral part of second or foreign lan-
guage classroom activity, peer teaching and tutoring
provide these same benefits, along with other advan-
tages. Learners come to rely on their peers and
develop a sense of responsibility to their peer
partners or group. Pair and group activities can
help wean learners from excessive dependence on the
teacher. Some activities, such as peer correction
and proofreading, can develop types of abilities and

awareness that learners all too often abdicate to the teacher.

It must be pointed out, however, that the very nature of peer involvement activities makes it difficult--and in many cases impossible--for teachers to monitor everything that takes place in the classroom. Much of the initial resistance of teachers to learner-directed work stems from the fear of losing control of the classroom. Nothing seems to express this general fear better than the frequent criticism that peer-led activity will generate too many errors and will produce too much mislearning.

This criticism is not totally invalid, but it is much less accurate than many teachers might suspect. First of all, errors are not so universally dealt with in teacher-centered instruction as many teachers believe; no teacher can simultaneously monitor the performance of each of 30 or more students in unison work; furthermore, research has shown that even when teachers detect errors, they do not always choose to treat them. Most error treatment in large-group instruction is selective; teachers use a large number of unconscious criteria to decide what errors to correct and what errors to ignore. Thus, to characterize teacher-directed instruction as activity in which errors are uniformly dealt with, and peer-led activity as fertile ground for the production and spread of incorrect performance, is to create a false dichotomy.

A second point to be made in this regard is that many effective peer-directed activities are of a highly controlled nature. One widely used form of peer tutoring in the classroom is pair work in which a somewhat more proficient student drills a less proficient learner. The "tutor" leads the "tutee" in exercises for which answers are provided. The more proficient learner in each pair, then, can provide for the less proficient learner precisely what the teacher provides, but in a more intensive form than any one teacher can possibly provide to each of a dozen or more students who need focused, manipulative practice.

For those more communicative activities in which errors are more likely to occur and in which

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identification and treatment of errors are more difficult, the production of errors and breakdowns in communication must be accepted by teachers as an inevitable consequence of learners' attempts to use the language. This, is, not to say that concern for formal accuracy should be entirely ignored; as has recently been recognized (see, for example, Higgs & Clifford, 1982), attention must be given to both fluency *and* accuracy in the classroom. Nonetheless, the acceptance of communicative proficiency as a goal of language classroom instruction entails an acceptance on the part of teachers that students' attempts to use their developing language ability cannot take place without occasional, and sometimes frequent, errors. This fact, however, is not unique to peer-led activity; it is a product of the kind of activity in which students are involved, and much less the result of a teacher's presence or absence.

In summary, peer involvement in the classroom has the following advantages:

● It can provide increased practice opportunities. Students working in pairs or groups can receive more intense practice with the language than students who must compete for practice opportunities in teacher-directed drill work;

● It is a time-efficient means of exposing students to activities in which the teacher does not play an indispensable role;

● It is a more appropriate format for many activities involving communication in the language; there is, as Russo (1983) puts it, an "inherent communication bias of grouping"; and

● It fosters students' reliance on themselves and other learners and thus prepares students for the responsibilities in language development that they will confront in the community outside the classroom.

In the next section, sample activities that encourage peer involvement are discussed. Activi-

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ties are divided into three categories: pair work,
small-group work, and activities in which one or
more students interact with the rest of the class.

It should be pointed out that for reasons of
space, only a few sample activities are suggested
for each category. These are to be regarded as
illustrative of what can be done; by no means do
they exhaust the range of possibilities. In addi-
tion, the focus is, with some exceptions, on peer
involvement activities that can be used as is or
adapted to lower levels of instruction, since it is
with beginning and lower-intermediate students that
teachers tend to rely on frontal, whole-class
instruction and fail to consider the possibility of
peer-mediated, peer-directed activity.

PAIR WORK

Pair work can be a highly effective format for
intensive practice with specific points of grammar
and vocabulary. When it is done in the classroom,
it is most productive when done for short periods of
time. For example, students might be paired for a
few minutes at the beginning of a class to drill
each other on material covered in the previous
lesson or to review dialogues. The same pairings
can be kept for a period of time, or students can
have a new partner for each class according to a
rotation system.

The Dyad Learning Program (Pack, 1977) is a set
of materials for ESL students that suggests how peer
tutoring can be used in conjunction with tightly
controlled, teacher-determined goals and activities
for intensive work in grammar. These materials can
be put to a number of different uses: They can be
used in class by all students in the early stages of
instruction, they can be used by students who need
remedial, precommunicative practice with the basic
grammatical elements of English, or they can be used
for out-of-class reinforcement (in the latter case,

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providing a much more interactive alternative to
language lab drill).

The materials focus on three areas of diffi-
culty for ESL learners: prepositions, pronouns and
determiners, and verb choices and forms. Each of
these areas (which were identified as problem areas
by an analysis of errors in ESL students' composi-.
tions) is treated in a separate volume. Each volume
has two parts: a set of multiple-choice completion
exercises without answers--the "student's" or
tutee's materials--and a similar set of exercises
with answers provided--the tutor's part. Each exer-
cise is designed to have students choose from among
two to six potentially confusing choices. As the
tutee proceeds through each exercise, the tutor pro-
vides immediate feedback on the answers given. Each
text is divided into groups of exercises; before
moving on to the next group, the tutee must be able
to complete exercises in the previous group without
error.

The materials were designed to be used by pairs
of students who would alternate in the roles of
tutor and tutee, but they could not be used equally
well in pairings in which students play either the
role of tutor or the role of tutee.

Materials similar to those in the Dyad Learning
Program can be used successfully in pair work to
provide students with practice in producing correct
forms. Pair work is also effective for activities
in which learners must relate form to meaning; that
is, in activities in which, given directions about
what to produce, students must produce a meaningful
and intelligible utterance.

"Cued dialogues" are an example of an activity
at this stage of instruction for which pair work is
an effective format. Each learner in a pair is
given a card on which instructions are written for
the lines that learner will produce in a dialogue
(role cards can be produced with options at several
points, so that learners can make choices that add
an element of originality to each cued dialogue that
a pair of students produces). An example of a cued
dialogue is provided in Table 2.1.

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Student 1	Student 2
You meet Student 2 in a store.	You meet Student 1 in a store.
1: Greet Student 2.	1:
2:	2: Greet Student 1. Ask how he/she is.
1: Tell Student 2 you are fine (O.K.). Ask Student 2 if he/she has time to go for a cup of coffee (take a walk in the park, go to X's house).	1:
2:	2: Say you would like to (are sorry), but you have some other errands to do (have to be home in a few minutes, must meet your brother/sister in five minutes). Ask if Student 1 is free this evening.
1: Say that you are planning to study. Ask Student 1 if he/she would like to study with you.	1:
2:	2: Say that's a good idea. Tell Student 1 you'll call after dinner.
1: Agree with Student 1's plans.	

Table 2.1. Cued dialogue.

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Cued or directed dialogues such as this are an
excellent preparation for more open-ended dialogues
and role plays. Littlewood (1981, p. 14) provides
an example of a cued dialogue in which each learner
is given communicative functions to express, but
relatively little in terms of specific content (see
Table 2.2).

Partner A	Partner B
You meet B in the street.	You meet A in the street.
A: Greet B.	A:
B:	B: Greet A.
A: Ask where B is going.	A:
B:	B: Say you are going for a walk.
A: Suggest somewhere to go together.	A:
B:	B: Reject A's suggestion. Make a different suggestion.
A: Accept B's suggestion.	A:
B:	B: Express pleasure.

Table 2.2. Cued dialogue with minimal specific
content.

Pair work is also an effective format for com-
munication activities. The essence of such activi-
ties is that "the teacher structures the situation
so that learners have to overcome an information gap
or solve a problem" (Littlewood, 1981, p. 22). The
learners' task is to use what target language abili-
ties they possess to communicate meanings, and the
success of their efforts will be reflected by their
ability to achieve the goal of the task.

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Identifying a Member of a Set

The first example of a communication activity suitable for pair work is when one learner is given a set of pictures that are similar in content, but differ from one another in one or more details, as in Figure 2.1. In the drawings, the color of the curtains, the number of chairs, and the position of the radio combine to create a set of different scenes.
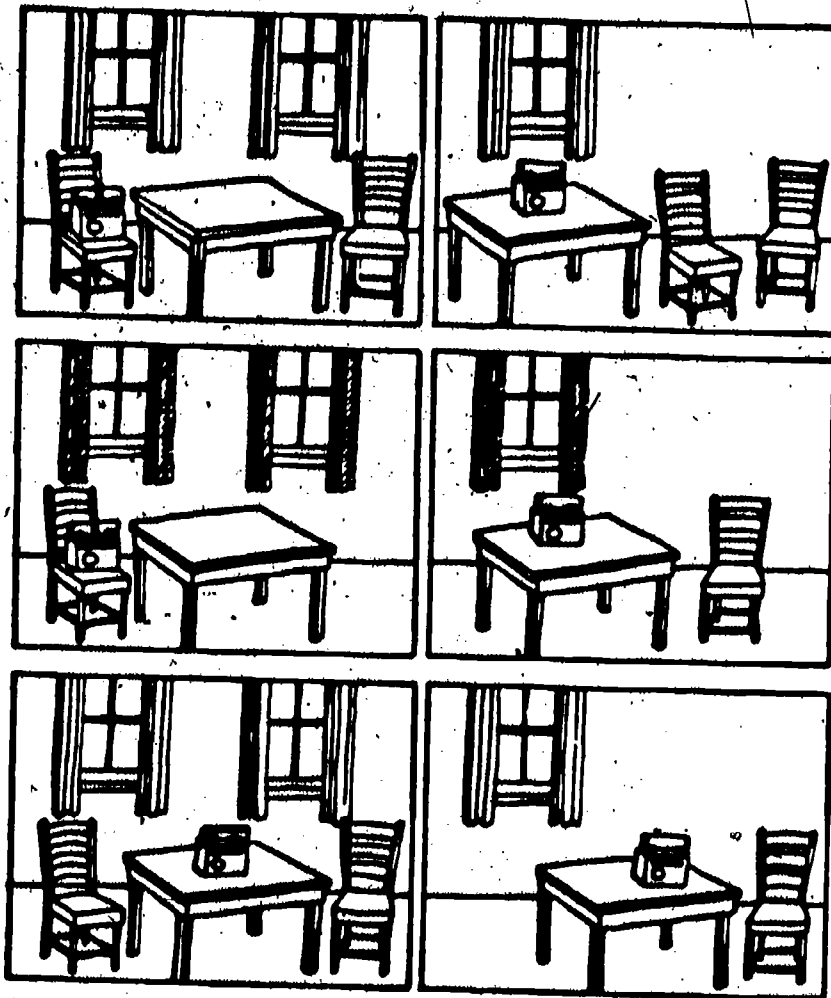

Figure 2.1. Identifying a member of a set.

Note. From Communicative Language Teaching--An Introduction (p. 23) by W. Littlewood, 1981, Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press. Copyright © 1981 by Cambridge University Press. Reprinted by permission.

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Another learner is given a duplicate of one of
the pictures and is instructed not to disclose any
information about the picture to his or her partner
until the activity begins. Then, the second learner
may offer information only in response to questions
from the first learner, whose task it is to identify
which of the drawings the second learner has. The
first learner may be instructed to ask only "yes/no"
questions to make the task more challenging. In
fact, depending on the kind of questions that are
allowed, this activity can be designed for students
of many different levels of language instruction.

Recreating Patterns

Each of two learners has a checkerboard con-
sisting of nine squares (three by three). Each
learner has a set of objects, the words for which
they do not know in the target language. One
learner must choose nine objects and place them, one
to a square, on the checkerboard. The learner must
then communicate to his or her partner, who cannot
see the first learner's checkerboard, which object
to place in which square. The second learner is
allowed to ask questions and to provide any feedback
necessary to indicate that he or she has not under-
stood what to do. The goal of the task is to have
the second learner place the objects on his or her
checkerboard in exactly the same fashion as the
first learner has done.
        There are many possible variations on this ac-
tivity, of course. As described, the activity
demands that learners use their ability to express
spatial relationships (including prepositions). A
picture that serves as a background setting can also
be used as a game board. For less advanced learn-
ers, the objects can consist of nothing more than
different basic shapes of different colors and can
provide practice in identifying objects by shape and
color. When learners must communicate information
about objects they do not know the words for (and
these can be simple objects such as a hairpin, a
seashell, a plastic worm, a luggage tag, etc.), they

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must put their target language ability to use to
describe the object by paraphrase or circumlocution;
this can provide a convincing demonstration for
learners of the need to make vocabulary expansion an
important part of their language-learning agenda.

Pooling Information

A communication task that demands more equal
communication on the part of the two participants--
that is, in which each participant must both request
and furnish information--is illustrated by the map-
reading exercise reproduced in Figure 2.2. Again,
the task can be varied in difficulty by increasing
or decreasing the amount of information shared by
the two participants at the beginning of the task.
Mention should be made of the value of pair
work outside the classroom. Particularly for activ-
ities that require more time than a teacher may be
willing to spend in the classroom, pair work can be
useful in encouraging students to continue their
language learning efforts outside the classroom.
The possibilities range from practice with tightly
controlled materials or exercises created by the
teacher to learner-selected activities (games such
as "Hangman" or lotto can be very useful for skill-
building in spelling and vocabulary). One way to
implement student-structured pair work is to encour-
age students to form study couples or to assist stu-
dents in selecting a peer to work with over the
course of a semester (Gaudiani, 1981). Students
paired on the basis of similar interests or some
other factor (for example, in ESL classes, on the
basis of different native language backgrounds) and
working together on a sustained basis gain a sense
of responsibility of each for the other and are
encouraged to use the target language for communica-
tion. As Gaudiani (1981) has pointed out, partici-
pation in pair work of this sort is not likely to be
radically new for most students; rather, it is a
matter of the teacher overtly encouraging students
to do on a more sustained basis what many students
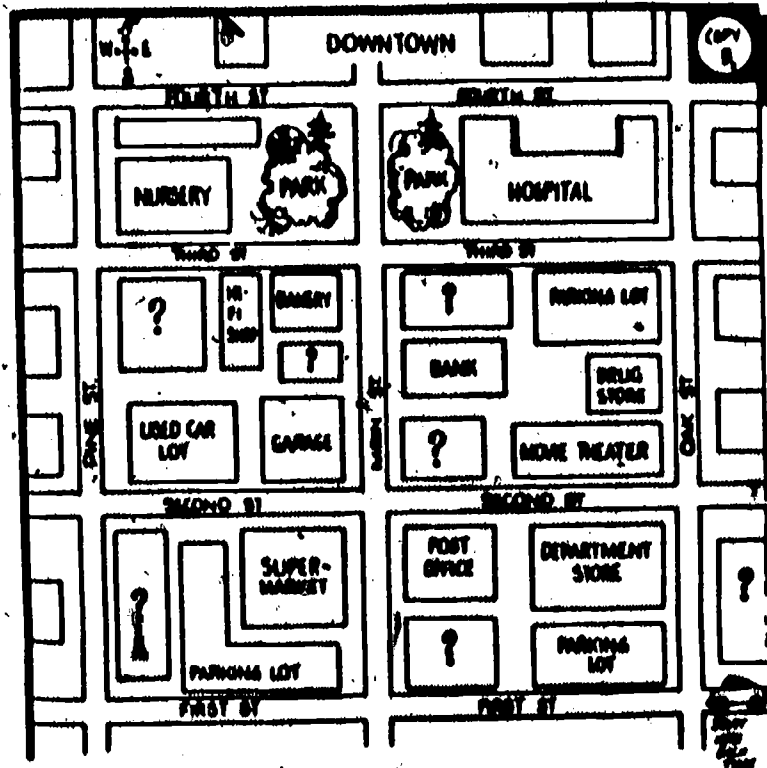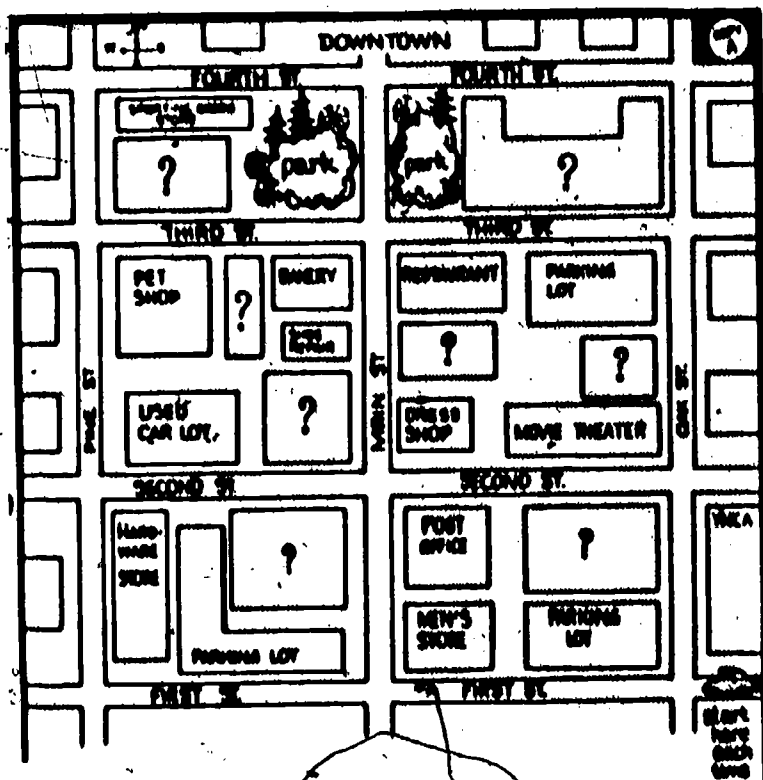do occasionally anyway.

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Figure 2.2. Map-reading exercise. The instructions say, "You and your partner have different maps. ... Ask your partner how to get to the [following] places" [for partner with Copy A: the hospital, the garage, the supermarket, etc.; for partner with Copy B: the sporting goods store, the dress shop, the hardware store, etc.].

Note. From *Communication-Starters* (pp. 41, 43) by J.W.B. Olsen, 1977, Hayward, CA: The Alemany Press. Copyright © 1977 by Janus/Alemany. Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the author.

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Small-group work is recommended by virtually
all recent handbooks and methodology texts for lan-
guage teachers. The interest is justified, because
the small-group format is well suited to a range of
activities from controlled precommunicative practice
to decontrolled communicative activity.

Many exercises and tasks suitable for pair work
can be adapted to a small-group setting. In addi-
tion, some activities are uniquely appropriate for
groups of three or more students. These include the
following.

Personalized Questions and Interviews

"Conversation cards" and "interview cards,"
described by Bonin and Birckbichler (1975), enable
small groups of students to use their developing
language proficiency to talk about themselves and to
share their interests, feelings, opinions, and
experiences with fellow students. They are most
appropriately used as an intermediate stage between
controlled question-answer activities typical of
whole-class instruction and unstructured activities
in which students must both formulate and answer
questions entirely by themselves.

Conversation cards are used:

in conjunction with materials in the text-
book. They exploit either a topic and its
related vocabulary (e.g., sports) or a
grammatical concept ... or a combination
of both. For a given topic, whether lexi-
cal or grammatical, three cards have been
prepared, each containing five to ten
questions. For each subject, an attempt
is made to have three different sets of
questions on the same topic, and to
approximate as closely as possible the
natural progression of a conversation. No
instructions are given about the content

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of the answer so that students can give
either general or personal answers.
(pp. 22-23)

These "personalized" questions can be presented
in different formats depending on the ability level
of the students. For beginning students, they may
be posed as direct questions--*What time do you get
up on weekdays?*, *What do you eat for breakfast?*,
What time do you leave for school?, *What do you like
to eat for lunch?*, and so forth; for more advanced
students, they can appear on the conversation cards
as directed dialogue--*Ask your conversation partner
when he/she gets up on weekdays*, and so on. For
even more advanced students, the questions can be
more elaborate; students must not only answer a
question, but must also explain or justify their
answer. For example, for an activity focusing on
if-clauses, students can be told to *Ask your partner
what he/she would do if he/she had $10,000 dollars
and why* or *Ask your partner what he/she would change
if he/she could change his/her personality and why.*
Students do the activity in groups of three.
One student asks another student a question, the
second student answers, and the third student
listens and provides assistance or comments on the
answer. Students in each group take turns asking,
answering, and commenting on answers. In classes in
which a number of students are considerably ahead of
the others, the more proficient students could be
used primarily as monitors for this activity; that
is, they can play the role of listening to and com-
menting on (correcting) the efforts of the other
students.
Interview cards, unlike conversation cards, are
not tied to any particular text material and do not
focus on manipulative control of specific items of
grammar or vocabulary. Instead, they are used to
enable students to elicit information about their
peers--their personal background and interests. As
with conversation cards, the nature of the direc-
tions given to students varies with their ability.
For beginning students, questions may be provided in
precisely the form they should be asked, for

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example, *What's your name?*, *How old are you?*, *What
is your address?*, and so on. At an intermediate
level, directions could take the form of: *Ask X
what his/her name is*, *Ask X how old he/she is*, *Ask X
wnut his/her address is*, and so on. More advanced
students might simply be given the nature of the
information to be obtained: *Ask X his/her name,
age, address, etc*.

Conversation and interview cards provide stu-
dents with the opportunity to do in small groups--in
a more authentic setting than the whole class--what
is often done under the control of the teacher. The
peer-led format suggested by Bonin and Birckbichler
(1975) maximizes practice opportunities and encour-
ages learner participation in asking for, providing,
and judging the comprehensibility of information.

Sentence-Chaining and Expansion

Once learners have learned to produce particu-
lar grammatical forms, practice can be extended to
the production of original sentences. In sentence-
chaining, the group starts with a model sentence
such as *At six-thirty, Mary woke up*. Each member of
the group must produce a sentence similar in form
that continues to narrate the events of the day,
such as: *At seven, she had breakfast*, *At eight, she
went to school*, *At noon, she had lunch*, and so on.
If desired, the activity can be based on information
provided to the group, such as a table, chart, or
set of pictures.

In sentence expansion, the group must start
with a model sentence and expand it. Thus, given
the sentence *He went to the store to buy some eggs*,
each student must add one additional item: *He went
to the store to buy some eggs and a bottle of milk*,
*He went to the store to buy some eggs, a bottle of
milk, and five pounds of sugar*, and so forth. Sen-
tence expansion is useful for reinforcing new vocab-
ulary (particulary vocabulary related to the same
domain) and developing students' short-term memory.
A game-like atmosphere is created when each group

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attempts to produce the longest (but grammatically
accurate) sentence in the class.

Reconstructing Sequences

A problem-solving activity that can be used in
group work is the "strip story," which involves
having each student in the group possess information
that no one else in the group has, thus generating
goal-directed communication (Gibson, 1975):

> The teacher selects a story or anecdote
> which has the same number of sentences as
> there are students. Simple sentences can
> be combined or more complex ones broken up
> to make the appropriate number of senten-
> ces. The sentences are typed and dittoed
> with extra space between each sentence.
> One copy is cut into strips, with one sen-
> tence on each strip. In class the senten-
> ces are distributed at random to the
> students, who are then asked to memorize
> their sentences.... Students are not
> allowed to write anything down or compare
> sentences at this time. After the senten-
> ces are memorized, the strips are thrown
> away.... The idea is to have each student
> become the sole source of one piece of
> information. Being the only source of his
> sentence will force each student to speak
> at least once. Thus everyone is required
> to participate in order to solve the
> problem. Next the students are instructed
> to find out exactly what the story is
> without writing anything down. (p. 150)

The key to this activity is that the group's
success in reconstructing the story depends on the
contribution of each member. This is why students
are not allowed to retain the strips; without the
written sentences, no single student can complete
the task for the whole group, and each member of the

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group must work to provide information and to elicit information from the others.

Decision Making

Many of the interactions of daily life involve problems that have more than one possible solution. Given certain information, a group of individuals must work to find a solution that is, to the extent possible, satisfactory to all.

For more advanced students, a number of communication tasks simulate "real-life" communication in this way. These are problem-solving tasks in which learners, all presented with the same information, must discuss the merits of various alternatives and reach a group decision. According to Berns (1984), activities of this kind are becoming increasingly popular in language classes for very good reasons:

> They respond to the need for learner-
> centered activities, but do more than
> that. They also provide the opportunity
> for learners to express meaning, using the
> meaning potential they have developed up
> to that time, about a specified content.
> Thus, the ideational, interpersonal, and
> textual functions of language come
> together ... learners have to focus on
> meaning and have to contend with the
> possibility of not getting their meaning
> across. In addition, the unpredictability
> of discourse and the variable relationship
> between form and function are accented ....
> Because of these features, [a problem-
> solving] exercise, if done without teacher
> intervention to correct errors (except
> those that are an obstacle to the expres-
> sion of meaning), provides for interac-
> tion among students to an optimal degree.
> (p. 19)

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Examples of small-group discussion and deci-
sion-making activities are given in Figures 2.3-5.
The first (Fig. 2.3) provides specific directions
for discussion (the entire unit also contains a
"written reaction" section, in which students record
the conclusions of their discussion and do two other
exercises related to the topic, and a "vocabulary"
section, in which key lexical items are defined).
The second (Fig. 2.4) is less structured; students
are simply presented with information and instructed
to list the reasons for and against doing the heart
transplant on each of the six potential recipients.

Activities such as "Who gets the heart?" can be
particularly effective in ESL classes, where stu-
dents of various cultural backgrounds can offer dif-
ferent perspectives and values. Care must be taken
by the teacher, however, not to present an activity
of this kind to students whose target language abil-
ity is insufficient to allow them to discuss the
issue.

For lower-level students, small-group discus-
sion more narrowly focused on specific points of
grammar and vocabulary can be devised. The group
task in Figure 2.5 comes from a unit in a textbook
(designed for first-year secondary school Yugoslav
learners of English) in which comparative and
superlative forms of adverbs and adjectives, the
use of modals to make suggestions and recommenda-
tions, and the communicative functions of making
comparisons, making suggestions and justifying
recommendations are the main teaching points. This
exercise, appropriate for lower-intermediate and
intermediate students, illustrates how small-group
tasks can be developed to provide students with the
opportunity to use what they have learned in whole-
class instruction in a semicontrolled communicative
activity.

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While you are driving alone through the desert on vacation, your camper breaks down late in the afternoon, and you cannot fix it. You discover that the road you are traveling on is closed to traffic. There is little hope of anyone driving by to help you. There are no telephones nearby.

Your best solution is to walk back to a service station which you remember passing. You calculate that you have driven about one hour and fifteen minutes at an average speed of eighty kilometers (fifty miles) per hour. You will have to travel only at night because of the intense heat and burning sun.

The camper has the following items in it:

- roll of toilet paper
- mess kit
- dozen eggs
- box of powdered milk
- canteen of water
- sleeping bag
- book of matches
- dozen flares
- portable radio
- wool blanket
- can of gas
- first-aid kit
- large utility knife

- insect repellent
- tent
- flare gun
- flashlight
- thermos of hot coffee
- camping stove
- compass
- fresh vegetables
- beach umbrella
- fresh fruit
- canned food
- can opener

ORAL INTERACTION

1 Because of the limitations of space and weight, you can only carry five items

   a. Decide which five items to take.

   b. Arrange these five items in order of importance.

2 Most of the items in the camper can fit into two categories: (1) camping gear, and (2) food. Put these items into their categories.

3 Calculate the distance and the approximate amount of time needed to walk that distance.

4 What other alternatives are there for solving this situation, other than walking back to the service station?

5 Can you think of any items missing from the list that you might need? Name them.

Figure 2.3. Small-group discussion activity.

Note. From *React Interact: Situations for Communication* (p. 23) by D.R.H. Byrd and I. Clemente-Cabetas, 1980, New York: Regents. Copyright © 1980 by Regents Publishing Company, Inc. Reprinted by permission.

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Unit 8 Who Gets the Heart?

Read: You are members of the heart transplant surgery team at a university hospital in Washington, D.C. At the moment, you have six patients who desperately need a transplant, if they are to have any chance of living. All six patients are classified as "critically ill," and could die at any time.

You have just received the news that the heart of a 16-year-old boy, who was killed in an auto accident, has become available for transplantation. Speed is extremely important as you decide which of the following patients is to receive the heart: not only might one of the patients die, but also the donor heart will soon begin to deteriorate.

Consider: (1) The age and sex of the donor has no relationship to the age and sex of the recipient. In other words, the heart of the 16-year-old boy would work well in a 50-year-old woman. (2) Rank the patients in order: 1--first to receive, 6--last to receive.

Decide:
Patients:
1. Jonas Kasperak, male, age 55. Mr. Kasperak is employed as a steelworker. He and his 47-year-old unemployed wife have seven children (ages 8-22).
Reasons he should receive the heart:_____

Reasons he should not receive the heart:_____

Conclusion of heart transplant team:_____

2. Elena Rodriguez, female, age 31. Ms. Rodriguez sings first soprano in the Washington Metropolitan Opera. She is divorced and has two children (ages 2 and 3).
Reasons she should receive the heart:_____

Reasons she should not receive the heart:_____

Conclusion of heart transplant team:_____

3. Franklin Johns, male, age 42. Mr. Johns, a research scientist at George Washington University, is the leading authority in the world on bacteriological diseases. He is unmarried.
Reasons he should receive the heart:_____

Reasons he should not receive the heart:_____

Conclusion of heart transplant team:_____

4. Carlos Wahnon, male, age 10. Carlos, the son of the Venezuelan Ambassador, is a student in an elementary school. When he grows up, he wants to be a doctor.
Reasons he should receive the heart:_____

Reasons he should not receive the heart:_____

Conclusion of heart transplant team:_____

5. F. Lincoln Bradley, male, age 65. Mr. Bradley is the Vice President of the U.S. He is the father of three grown children, and the grandfather of five.
Reasons he should receive the heart:_____

Reasons he should not receive the heart:_____

Conclusion of heart transplant team:_____

6. Helen Jackson, female, age 39. Ms. Jackson, a recent widow, is unemployed and on welfare. She has three children (ages 4, 8, 10).
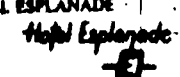Reasons she should receive the heart:_____

Reasons she should not receive the heart:_____

Conclusion of heart transplant team:_____

Figure 2.4. Small-group decision-making activity.

Note. From *The Non-Stop Discussion Workbook* (pp. 31-33) by G. Rooks, 1981, Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House. Copyright © 1981 by Newbury House Publishers, Inc. Reprinted by permission.

PORTOROŽ . HOTEL PARK

HVAR . HOTEL JADRAN

OPATIJA HOTEL ESPLANADE

POREČ HOTEL BELLEVUE

Note: All prices include return airfare from London.

1e) Look at the written description of a youth hostel in Workbook Exercise A and use it to write one of your own.

1f) The Taylors are looking at the brochures which Tracy brought from the travel agent's. Look at the brochures (below). If there is anything which you don't understand, ask your friend or your teacher,

"What does (X) stand for?"
or "What does (Y) mean?".

1g) Ask and answer questions about the brochures, like this:

A: How much does it cost for 10 days in Portorož in June?
B: A hundred and sixty-seven pounds per person.

A: Does it cost extra for a single room?
B: Yes, it does: three pounds per night.

A: What can you do in Portorož?
B: You can swim, sail . . .

(Of course, you may think of other questions.)

1h) Imagine that you are writing a hotel brochure. Your organization is offering package holidays in:

i) Budva–Hotel Continental
ii) Piran–Hotel Riba
iii) Korčula–Hotel More

Work in groups. Think of details like
- prices
- what there is in the hotel
- what people can do.

Figure 2.5. Small-group discussion activity. *Note. From Angleški jezik: Učbenik* (pp. 139–140) by R. Knight, T. Kobilica, M. Knight, and E. Kožar, 1982, Maribor: Založba Obzorja. Copyright © 1982 by Založba Obzorja. Reprinted by permission.

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STUDENT-DIRECTED WHOLE-CLASS ACTIVITY

The use of learners to promote learning in a
whole-class setting is widely viewed as an excellent
way to inject variety into classroom activity. If
used in moderation, peer teaching of this kind pro-
vides a change of pace while imposing minimal organ-
izational burdens on the teacher.

An example of this kind of peer-directed learn-
ing is provided by Feeny (1981). A copy of a draw-
ing or photo illustrating a dialogue or text that
the class has been studying is given to each student
in the class. All students, including the one who
will act as peer teacher, are assigned to write six
questions (and the corresponding answers) on the
content of the drawing or photo. In addition, each
student writes six false statements about the illus-
tration. All students except the one designated as
peer teacher prepare these questions, answers, and
false statements as a homework assignment; the peer
teacher's work is corrected by the teacher at the
beginning of the next class.

The peer teacher then conducts the class for a
period of between 15 and 20 minutes. The student
reads the false statements he or she has prepared;
the rest of the class is responsible for correcting
the statements (although students are not allowed to
look at their own written work). The peer teacher
then poses the questions he or she has prepared and
calls on students to answer them.

The main virtue of this activity is in the oral
practice it provides. Even students with less oral
fluency than their peers can successfully lead the
class in this activity, since the key to the activ-
ity is not the complexity of the questions the peer
teacher asks or of the false statements that the
peer teacher presents for correction; rather, it is
the relevance of the questions and statements to the
illustration (and to the text or dialogue to which
the illustration is related). A simple question may
be as useful a vehicle for reinforcing new vocabu-
lary as a more complex one.

There are other obvious advantages. The stu-

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dent who will serve as the peer teacher is likely to
be more conscientious about preparing for the task,
and the rest of the class will have the opportunity
to see a peer communicate with them successfully
(even if within a controlled situation). Whether it
is used only once a week (as Feeny recommends) or
somewhat more often, the activity can be a very use-
ful step in bolstering students' confidence in using
the target language.

Numerous other activities in which one or a few
students interact with the rest of the class can be
used from the beginning stages of language instruc-
tion on up. Among these are the following.

Games

Many well-known games can be effectively used
to reinforce basic elements in the language. "Simon
Says" can be used for command forms; "Buzz" can be
used for practice in producing numbers (students can
be instructed to produce either cardinal or ordinal
numbers), as can bingo. "Twenty Questions" gives
students the opportunity to produce "yes/no" ques-
tions. Lee (1979) offers many other games appropri-
ate for beginning and intermediate language classes,
along with useful suggestions for using games in the
classroom.

Role Plays and Interviews

One or a few students can be provided with
information that allows them to play a certain role:
a reservation agent, a receptionist or telephone
operator, a librarian working at the circulation
desk, or some other "expert." The rest of the class
is given questions that can be answered from the
information provided. The class records the infor-
mation given by the student(s) playing a particular
role; afterward, the entire class can check the
accuracy with which the information has been given.

Such activities are particularly useful in pre-
paring students to participate in conversation out-

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side the classroom. Students should be encouraged
to ask for repetition of answers they did not
understand the first time, to confirm what they have
heard by paraphrasing or repeating the answer, and
to inform the student(s) providing information when
their answers are not clear.

To illustrate this kind of activity, an airline
timetable, a list of fares, and information of pro-
cedures and restrictions are given in Figure 2.6.
With this information, a student role-playing an
airline reservation agent can provide classmates
with answers to questions such as the following:

Do you have flights from ___ to ___?
How much is a one-way (round trip) ticket
  from ___ to ___?
Do you have a flight to ___ that arrives·
  before noon?
Do you have flights to ___ on Saturdays?
Do the flights to ___ make any stops?
What's the latest flight from ___ to ___?
Is there meal service on flights to ___?
What's the cheapest fare for flights to ___?

Many additional role-playing activities can be
found in Zelson (1978); some can be quite easily
adapted for use in a whole-class setting.

Additional Ideas

The preceding examples of exercises and activi-
ties that stimulate peer involvement represent but a
small sample of what can be used in the classroom.
Many useful suggestions for student-directed and
peer-mediated classroom work are readily available.
Teachers who wish to expand their repertoire of such
activities might wish to consult Kettering (1975),
Dubin and Olshtain (1977), Olsen (1977), Joiner and
Westphal (1978), Littlewood (1981), Birckbichler
(1982), and Omaggio (1984).

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Figure 2.6. Travel information for use in role playing.

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PEER FEEDBACK PROCEDURES

Part and parcel of many of'the activities
described so far is the learners' responsibility for
providing feedback to each other; that is, to call
attention to other students' failure to communicate
a meaning successfully or, in the case of precom-
municative activities, to signal the presence of an
error or to actually provide the correct form. The
task of providing feedback, particularly in the case
of written homework, is one that in most classrooms
is automatically assumed by the teacher (Pack &
Dillon, 1980):

> In the traditional classroom situation,
> the teacher collects homework, checks it
> and returns it the following day, at best.
> By then, however, the student is con-
> centrating on something else, so he barely
> glances at the corrections and he then
> proceeds to make the same errors on the
> next similar assignment. A very precious
> moment has been wasted and, as a result,
> the student continues to make the same
> errors and the teacher continues to
> correct them. (p. 11)

The "precious moment" referred to is the one at
which student motivation is highest: the first
available opportunity for students to find out what
they have done successfully and what they have not
done successfully. Peer correction techniques are
an efficient way of providing more immediate feed-
back, which one teacher cannot provide to many
students simultaneously. Furthermore, as many advo-
cates of greater peer involvement in the classroom
suggest, students can learn a great deal themselves
as they provide feedback to their peers.

A number of formats for peer correction are
described here; each, of course, has particular
advantages and limitations.

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Student-Initiated Correction and Editing

At the beginning of a class, students work in
pairs or small groups and compare their homework
(this can be done by having individual students
exchange papers or through joint discussion). Areas
of disagreement are noted, and these are then raised
with the teacher. The teacher may circulate among
groups or may discuss problem areas with the whole
class.

One obvious advantage to this format is that
the feedback process is focused on problem areas;
areas in which there are no disagreements do not
generally lead to profitable discussions. Another
advantage of this procedure is that in defending
their answers against those of their peers, students
are able to reinforce their own understanding (even
if this is done in part through discussion in the
native language) and can help other students under-
stand the errors they have made. In addition, the
procedure can help sharpen proofreading skills and
may obviate the need for teachers to correct what
are in fact only careless mistakes.

A limitation of the procedure is that students
may not know how to approach the task of correcting
a written assignment that is so deficient that it
cannot be understood. Thus the procedure may be
most useful as a means for providing peer feedback -
for essentially mechanical or quasicommunicative
tasks. For written work that is more communicative
in nature--that is, that allows students consider-
able latitude in the choice of forms to express
meanings--a selective editing procedure may be use-
ful, whereby students concentrate on correcting one
or a few error types (verb tenses, subject/verb
agreement, pronoun reference, etc.) (Witbeck, 1976;
Pack & Dillon, 1980).

Teacher-Provided Correction Used by Students

A more guided approach to the editing and cor-
rection of student work done both in and out of
class is to divide students into small groups. One

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student from each group checks his or her work against a teacher-prepared answer key (this can be done before class begins). Each of these students then assumes the role of the teacher in his or her small group.

This procedure was used in the experiment in cooperative learning described by Gunderson and Johnson (1980) (see pp. 54-56), and proved particularly effective for the correction of routine worksheet assignments:

> Several worksheets were assigned with each unit. Each student was responsible for completing every assignment. The first person in each group to complete a sheet had his or her paper corrected by the teacher. He or she was then responsible for checking the papers of the other members of the group. If there were mistakes on the paper of one of the group members, the student indicated them and gave them back to the owner to correct. If the student could not correct the mistakes, the other group members helped. Peer teaching was a constant activity. The corrected worksheet was then turned back to the corrector, or to any other student in the group who had a perfect paper by this time to put an "OK" on it. All worksheets turned in to the teacher for a grade had been checked by group members. (p. 40)

As with student-initiated correction and editing, this approach to peer feedback has obvious advantages: All learners are more immediately involved in their performance; students develop editing skills in connection with their efforts on behalf of their peers; and learning problems are perhaps more clearly highlighted than when the teacher must wade through the entire worksheet or homework assignment of every student in the class. The limitation of the approach is that it is less effective for the correction of more open-ended tasks; that is, assignments for which there may be a

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wide range of possible answers or that entail com-
posing skills that even the best students in the
class are not capable of monitoring.

Activity-Based Peer Feedback

For some communicative writing tasks (and
indeed for oral production tasks as well), peer
feedback can be effectively provided in the form of
overt peer response. Examples of the kinds of tasks
for which such peer feedback is both feasible and
desirable include the following.

Composing written (or oral) instructions. One
student is shown a model built of Lego pieces (or
some other construction set); the student must pre-
pare a set of instructions for other students, who
have not seen the model. The success with which the
students can use the written or oral instructions
provides meaningful feedback on the communicative
effectiveness of the instructions. Variations on
this activity include directions for following a
route on a map and instructions for filling out
parts of a form not provided on the form itself.

Providing information for comprehension. A
student is given information by the teacher to
incorporate into a prepared oral presentation or
written composition. Some of the information is
vital to questions that other students must answer
on the basis of the oral or written report. The
success with which students can derive the necessary
information to answer the questions provides direct
and striking evidence to the student of his or her
ability to communicate meanings unambiguously;
moreover, any problems that arise can become the
focus of classroom discussion.

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ONGOING PEER INVOLVEMENT IN THE LANGUAGE
CLASSROOM: TWO EXAMPLES

Many of the peer-directed activities described
in this chapter can be used on an occasional or
frequent basis in the second or foreign language
classroom. While some teachers will choose to use
such activities simply as a change of pace, others
will exploit pair and group work more regularly, as
a follow-up to whole-class presentation of new
material.

The peer feedback procedures described in the
previous section suggest a way in which peer in-
volvement can be built into basic classroom proce-
dures. In the final part of this chapter, two
foreign language programs in which peer involvement
plays a central role in the overall classroom format
are examined.

An experiment in "cooperative learning" in two
junior high school beginning French classes is
described by Gunderson and Johnson (1980). The pro-
gram was explicitly designed to discourage individ-
ualistic and competitive behavior and to stimulate
students' collaboration with their peers. In each
of two classes, 30 students--most of them highly
motivated--were randomly assigned to groups of five
or six students (minor adjustments were made to
equalize the number of males and females in each
group). Each group remained intact for a full tri-
mester; at the beginning of the next trimester, new
groups were formed. Each group was given two types
of responsibilities, academic and "housekeeping":

> Academic responsibilities included learn-
> ing the French assignments and helping the
> other members of the group complete the
> assignments successfully. Nearly all
> learning activities were cooperative ...
> activities centered around worksheets,
> studying for tests, group reports, dia-
> logues, pretests, and reviews. (p. 40)

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Housekeeping assignments involved taking atten-
dance for members of the group, distributing and
collecting assignments, and cleaning up after class.
The extent to which responsibility shifted from the
teacher to students was especially evident in con-
nection with group-prepared reports. Each group
worked on a report during the trimester and was
responsible for planning the report, dividing the
work up among group members, putting together the
contributions of each member of the group, and pre-
senting the report to the entire class.

Some intergroup competition was encouraged to
inject variety into classroom activity--involving
competitive games such as "Hangman," bingo, and so
on--and each student did one creative individual
project each trimester. The grading system, how-
ever, reflected the emphasis on group cooperation
that was central to the whole program:

> Grades were determined 50 percent by the
> student's individual work and 50 percent
> by the group's work. When a test was
> given, for example, all students would
> take it individually. The scores of the
> group members were averaged to determine
> the group grade. The student's actual
> grade was then the average between his or
> her individual grade and the group's
> grade. Besides grades on written work,
> projects, and tests, students received a
> weekly grade for not speaking English
> during a designated period of time during
> each class. In order to ensure that mem-
> bers of a group helped each other remember
> to speak only French, the grade for not
> speaking English was again 50 percent
> determined by the individual student's
> behavior and 50 percent by the group's
> average grade. (p. 41)

During the first three trimesters of the pro-
gram, observers were struck by the amount of activ-
ity and the quality of learning taking place. The
students in the program were conscientious in all

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phases of small-group work, and this attitude carried over to large-group work. At the end of the third trimester, a questionnaire was administered to the participating students. Among the findings were the following:

- 98 percent of the students indicated that they wished to take a second year of French;

- 82 percent said that they preferred to learn French in the cooperative group format;

- 90 percent felt that they learned by helping others to learn, and 94 percent felt that they had helped classmates in their group;

- only 9 percent of the students felt that they would have learned more by not being a member of a cooperative learning group; and

- 94 percent of the students felt that their teacher, who had played a considerably more indirect role than usual in much of the classroom activity, cared about their academic progress.

The extensive use of peer teaching in a program described by Barnett (1973) grew out of practical necessity. The Foreign Language in the Elementary School (FLES) Spanish program she describes was beset by many of the problems that typically confront foreign language departments: uneven enrollment at different grade levels, an overload of students in one language (in this case, Spanish) over another, large class size at some grade levels, and an influx of both students who had transferred from schools without a foreign language program and pupils who moved from one language program to another within the school.

To many of these problems, peer teaching proved to be a partial solution. In Spanish classes at each of four grade levels (5-8), many classroom activities were conducted in small groups of two to five students (with one or two students in each group serving as peer teachers). For these groups, the peer teachers are those "who are ahead of most

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of the class in ability or in work covered or who
are simply ahead of their little group in [a] speci-
fic learning activity" (p. 635). In grade 5, groups
stay together for relatively short periods; at other
levels, students may work in the same group occa-
sionally for up to a month.

This small-group format is but one situation in
which peer teaching is used. Small groups are also
used for the benefit of students who are weaker, not
just in one particular learning activity, but as
language learners in general. Such students work
with peer teachers. These latter are not always the
most advanced students; rather, they are students
who have themselves had difficulty as language
learners and have mastered their problems. Such
remedial groups are problem-centered; once a student
has learned the skill being taught in one group, he
or she goes on to another. The group itself lasts
only as long as it takes for every tutee to master
the particular learning point for the group.

Other peer-mediated activities include the use
of one student to lead the class in games (through
which much of the drill work is done), mixed-ability
group work in which a faster student leads the group
by teaching the rules of a game and then leading the
group in playing the game, and dialogue practice in
a small-group format.

In addition to stressing the benefits that peer
involvement of this kind provides to students,
Barnett (1973) underscores the different, and in
some ways more demanding, role that the classroom
teacher must play. The teacher must circulate among
groups to be sure that instruction is being carried
out properly. The teacher must also make sure that
the students serving as peer teachers are keeping up
with their own work. Setting up groups demands a
considerable amount of clerical work, and the
teacher must meet with peer teachers to decide what
activities and techniques will be most effective.
In Barnett's view, however, these new demands are
more than offset by the gains achieved through peer
teaching. The classroom in which peers are involved
in each other's learning can:

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reach more successfully students of vary-
ing abilities and linguistic development
levels. Within each class period there
are several activities on various levels
taking place. It helps ... create a situ-
ation in which most students can achieve
success. (p. 637)

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[CHAPTER 3 CROSS-LEVEL PEER INVOLVEMENT IN SECOND
LANGUAGE LEARNING]

The programs discussed in this chapter differ from
each other in many ways. Some are small pilot pro-
grams; others are established, large-scale programs.
In some, peer teaching and tutoring is highly struc-
tured, with peer involvement serving to supplement
regular classroom instruction; in others, interac-
tion between peers is designed to accomplish goals
that are quite different from those of the language
classroom. Some of the programs have been designed
to achieve a single goal, while others are multipur-
pose. Together, the programs suggest the variety of
purposes for which peer involvement programs in
second language learning situations are designed and
the variety of program formats that are possible.

SAME-AGE

A Single-Purpose Approach

A cross-level peer tutoring program with nar-
rowly focused objectives is described by Anderson
and Berger (1975). The program was designed to help
fourth-grade, limited-English speakers improve their
mastery of basic structural elements of the target
language. Evidently, it was a pilot program, since
only four pairs of students participated. The
tutees were limited-English children enrolled in a
regular fourth-grade class in a New York City public
school. The tutors were fourth-grade native

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speakers of English from an "open" classroom. The
tutors and tutees were acquainted with each other
through common activities such as music, physical
education, and the lunch period. The four tutors
had volunteered to participate in the program.
Recruitment of volunteers had been directed at the
children in the "open" fourth-grade classroom, since
it was felt that the learning environment of these
children might already have provided them with the
self-direction and individual initiative that would
be necessary for effective peer tutoring.

The ten lessons that formed the content of the
tutoring sessions focused on basic aspects of Eng-
lish syntax: the verbs *to be* and *to have*, singular/
plural, *there is* and *there are*, descriptive adjec-
tives, articles, and the use of the auxiliary *do* in
negative, interrogative, and emphatic forms. These
lessons were prepared before the program began. In
addition, an orientation was held for all partici-
pants. Both the content of the lessons themselves
and the procedures to be followed in the tutoring
sessions were explained to the tutors and tutees:

> Two sets of lessons were used, one for the
> tutor and one for the tutee. The tutor's
> sheet had the objectives of the lesson
> listed at the top, followed by a series of
> exercises to be conducted orally with the
> tutee. The last part of the sheet had a
> copy of the independent work the tutees
> were to do to test comprehension. A "key"
> was provided for correcting the answers.
> The tutee's worksheet stated the objec-
> tives of the lesson on top and specific
> instructions to listen to his or her
> tutor. In addition, each lesson had two
> phases, an oral and a written. The lesson
> always began with the oral work and pro-
> ceeded to the reading exercises. In eval-
> uating the children's work, tutors were
> advised against marking any answers as
> "wrong." All responses were marked "Do
> over," if incorrect. The instructor con-
> tinually supervised all efforts. (p. 4)

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The results of this small-scale experiment were
encouraging in many ways. The tutees enjoyed the
close contact with native-speaker peers. Two tutees
who did not speak in their regular classroom related
well to their peer tutors. The tutors were able to
follow the procedures; in addition, they often de-
vised creative techniques to reinforce the material
of the lessons. Like other peer involvement programs
for elementary students, this program confirmed that
specific objectives and procedures, along with close
supervision, are especially important for young
learners. The planning and supervision involved
were amply justified by benefits that might not be
possible in large-group instruction.

A Multipurpose Approach

An example of a larger-scale program in which
fluent speakers work with limited or non-English-
speaking age-peers is the program administered by
the Center for Studies in English as a Second Lan-
guage at Boulder (Colo.) High School ("Peer Tutor-
ing," 1982). The Center was established in 1979 to
provide help to the increasing number of limited-
English students in the school district.
Instruction for ESL students in the Boulder
Valley School District is provided at Boulder High
School. Most of the secondary-level ESL students
live in that attendance area; those who do not are
bused in. In 1982, the Center staff provided ser-
vices to around 100 students. The students came
from approximately 17 different language backgrounds
and were of various nationalities. Their previous
educational experience ranged from no schooling at
all to a background comparable to that of the native
English speakers in the Boulder schools.
The Center initiated a program of volunteer
peer tutoring, in which fluent English speakers work
with both individual limited-English students and
small groups of students. Some of the tutoring is
done independently; some is done under the super-
vision of a classroom teacher. Tutors work with
their ESL peers in a number of different ways; some

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activities are designed to supplement and reinforce
the ESL classes in which nonbeginning tutees are
enrolled. A central file of activities is available
for tutors to use, with material assigned to two
levels, one for beginning students and the other for
more advanced students.

In addition to these language activities,
tutors work with the ESL students in other areas.
They assist tutees in developing effective study
skills, and help them with their homework assign-
ments. Tutors are also expected to provide affec-
tive support, "to be advocates for the ESL students,
to help them with the complexities of the school
system and of American society in general" (p. 1).
In this way, the program combines language-based
activities and the affective support that is
necessary to facilitate the adjustment of limited-
English students to the school setting and to the
community as a whole.

These two programs described were developed to
assist second language learners in conventional
monolingual school settings. Peer involvement can
also be useful in bilingual/bicultural settings to
stimulate contact among students with different
native languages.

Bilingual/Bicultural Settings

How can successful learning arrangements in
content areas be adapted to the special circum-
stances of a bilingual/bicultural setting? One
example is provided by Brown (1979), who describes a
format for a high school science education course in
which learners work in small teams and direct their
own learning of concepts and techniques.

When first implemented in monolingual settings,
Brown found that the team project approach, in which
small groups of students interested in the same in-
quiry worked together, fostered much greater cooper-
ation than the conventional teacher-directed format.
In particular, students with special talents--for
example, a student with ability in statistics or a
new foreign student with firsthand knowledge of

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wildlife in another region--were more likely to be
able to exploit their special abilities and knowl-
edge, and would be more fully appreciated by peers,
in the team approach. A system of team grades on
projects and examinations, along with a combination
of self-, peer, and teacher evaluation, also con-
tributed to producing a classroom that was less
competitive and more productive.

In developing a version of this team system--in
which peer teaching occupies a central position--for
bilingual/bicultural education, Brown made several
assumptions, among which are the following:

* "Language exchange between members of mixed-
dominance teams will enhance learning of the 'other'
language."

* "Cooperative learning (the mode in many
non-Anglo cultures) is encouraged by group grading
and comes to be valued."

* "Socialization of members of different
cultural groups is facilitated and self-concept is
enhanced" as a result of peer teaching and self-
directed learning. (p. 234)

To illustrate how the model would work in a
bilingual classroom, Brown describes a hypothetical
class composed of roughly equal numbers of mono-
lingual English speakers and limited or nonspeakers
of English. Students are grouped into teams of two
Spanish-dominant (or some other language) and two
English-dominant (monolingual) students per lab
table. Each team is given a packet "with bilingual
instructions for activities which demand relatively
little reading but maximize reasoning and manipula-
tion of equipment" (p. 232). The materials them-
selves use alternate languages in context, so that
members of a team alternately must rely on and be
relied on by their peers for explanations of parts
of the materials.

One advantage to this approach is that all team
members are engaged in goal-directed activity in
which students must alternately come to understand

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the target language in context and be able to communicate meaning to peers who have less proficiency in a language. The peer exchanges in two languages provide valuable support for formal instruction in English and Spanish (or some other language) in the regular language classroom. Another advantage is that this materials- and student-centered approach can be used equally well in classrooms with mono-lingual or bilingual teachers.

Bilingual materials designed for or adaptable to bilingual science classes were in preparation at the time of Brown's report. One such effort is the Pomona, Calif./South Florida University Project, which translated and adapted an Intermediate Science Curriculum Project for grades 7-9.

Each of the programs described thus far in this chapter use native speakers of a language as a resource for age-peers with limited fluency in the language. This is a basic form of the cross-level, same-age pattern, and it can be effectively used at virtually any level with learners of any age. An example of a similar program at the university level is the Conversation Tutor Program, discussed later (pp. 78-81). In many language-learning situations, however, students must develop fluency in a language that is neither their native language nor the primary language of the larger community in which they live. The target language may be the medium of instruction in the educational system, and it often serves as the language of official and commercial activity. In recent years, a variety of terms have been coined to label what is neither a second language nor a foreign language: for example, "English as an additional language" and "English as an auxiliary language" (Judd, 1981). The important point about such language use situations is that large numbers of people must attempt to develop proficiency in the target language without access to a large, native speaking community. Fluent nonnative speakers of the language are one available resource.

Thus, another basic form of cross-level, same-age peer involvement in language learning is the pairing or grouping of more proficient and less proficient age peers. Differences in educational

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background, family circumstances, and other factors account for the different abilities of learners of the same age; in a common setting, these learners can probably all profit from peer-led activities in the target language.

An experimental peer teaching program for entering freshmen at the Vidyodaya campus of the University of Sri Lanka (Brodkey, 1974) illustrates both the possibilities of such a program and the initial obstacles a new program faces. The program had two aims: to develop conversational fluency in English, and to improve students' ability to read freshman-level textbooks in English "with the rapidity and level of comprehension suitable for homework assignments in academic subjects where lectures, discussions, and testing are conducted in Sinhala or Tamil, not English" (p. 163).

Students arrived at the University of Sri Lanka with widely differing English skills. Some (particularly students from urban areas) were highly proficient, while others (generally students from rural areas) had minimal fluency in the language. Although classes are not conducted in English, most of the textbooks used are written in English. Furthermore, fluency in English is both a marker of socioeconomic prestige and a means of advancement.

The majority of entering students lacked fluency in the spoken language and were unable to read at the level at which textbooks are written. English classes were available, but class size (ranging from 25 to 100 students), teaching methods (directed primarily at improving reading comprehension), and a lack of materials did little to improve oral fluency. While progress in reading was achieved, the majority of students did not achieve sufficient ability to read English textbooks.

The program that was developed in response to this situation used small, peer-led discussion groups of about six students each. Students were assigned to groups randomly; each group usually had at least one or two relatively fluent students. Brodkey (1974) describes the way the groups functioned as follows:

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Lecture rooms were rearranged so that
students could sit in circles of six and
talk to each other. One teacher was
assigned to monitor two groups at a time,
and as many as six groups and three
teachers sometimes operated simultaneously
in one room. Teachers were encouraged to
present speaking games such as "20
questions," "adding to a story by turn,"
or simulated conversations such as
"planning a trip," or "a job interview."
However, teachers were asked to turn all
conversation over to group members as
rapidly as possible, and to refrain from
continually leading and lecturing to the
groups. (p. 164)

After a short time, the groups began to function as
had been hoped. The fluent students soon began to
encourage the less fluent students to participate,
and the less fluent students overcame their shyness
and made efforts to use what English they knew.

For a number of reasons it was not possible to
assess the effectiveness of the peer-led groups in
developing oral fluency. The program was started
too near the end of the academic year; furthermore,
the newly reopened campus was "experiencing unusual
administrative problems, irregular attendance, and
all the disruptions that accompany the approach of
final exams" (p. 165). In addition to these fac-
tors, the relatively unstructured format of the con-
versation groups was a radical departure from the
normal practice of teaching according to a predeter-
mined linguistic syllabus. While the students
appeared to adjust fairly quickly to this innova-
tion, some of the teachers had reservations. Some
teachers had difficulty adjusting to their new role
as catalysts and supervisors. Whether such dif-
ficulties would have eventually disappeared could
not be determined.

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The Whisman Language Tutor Program (Mountain View, Calif.) is an excellent illustration of a peer involvement program specifically designed to accommodate the very different but equally important needs of tutors and tutees. The tutors in the program are learning-disabled students, low achievers for whom traditional methods of teaching have been unsuccessful. A typical tutor in the program was described by his third-grade teacher during the previous year as having been disorganized, easily distracted, and unable to begin and complete tasks or to maintain peer relationships. One explicit goal of the program was to provide tutors with the opportunity to experience success and to develop their sense of self-esteem.

The tutees were limited-English students from 19 language backgrounds, including Vietnamese, Cantonese, Burmese, Spanish, and Tagalog. Tutees were paired with tutors primarily on the basis of personality; outgoing tutors are paired with shy tutees, and more withdrawn student tutors are paired with outgoing tutees.

The Whisman program was developed on the principle that both the tutors' activities and the materials used should be structured and tightly controlled. The materials consist of a ten-level set of graded activities written to help the tutees acquire syntactic structures of English through questions and commands. Level One involves single-word commands to which the tutee must respond: *sit, run, hop,* and so forth. At Level Five, the tutor poses "or-choice" questions: *Is the dog in the bag or in the box?* Questions become more complex through Level Ten. At each level, the tutor reads the commands and questions and evaluates each response of the tutee as correct or incorrect.

The tutors are trained by an aide who follows a written training agenda. The 30-minute training sessions familiarize the tutors with the specific procedures to be followed during each 30-minute

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tutoring session (these procedures are discussed in Chapter 5 (pp. 109-11).

The program is designed to have tutees perform at a high success rate. If accuracy falls below 90 percent, the aide adjusts the material downward until the 90 percent criterion is attained. Such adjustments are based on the work of the tutor in tabulating the tutee's performance.

In their description of the program, Price and Dequine (1982) report that the teachers of both the learning-disabled tutors and the limited-English tutees have been pleased by the program. Tutors learn organization and attention to task. Working with material that makes reduced demands on their reading abilities, they improve their reading comprehension, sense of syntax, and general verbal ability. The program also provides tutors with an increased sense of self-esteem and self-confidence-- a result of having provided help instead of receiving remedial attention. They also derive the satisfaction of a close peer relationship. For the tutees, the program provides language acquisition activities under the close individual supervision of a tutor trained to evaluate the tutee's progress. More important, perhaps, the tutee experiences a successful and close relationship with a native-speaker peer, and this undoubtedly encourages limited-English participants to establish other peer relationships.

An impressive example of a peer involvement program designed to accommodate the needs of junior high school ESL students at different stages in their development is described by Akigbe (1975). During the first stage of the program, the ESL students, whose native languages are Spanish and Korean, are involved in no fewer than three different kinds of peer tutoring. In their ESL classes, the students are paired with each other for some of the drill activities. This experience is supplemented by two other kinds of peer involvement, as follows.

A *content tutor* helps an individual ESL student in course work outside the ESL classroom; that is, in the regular classes of the school program (math,

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history, science, etc.). The content tutor reports
on the tutoring sessions to the subject teacher in
whose class the ESL tutee has experienced dif-
ficulty. The subject teacher, in turn, suggests
additional tutoring activities to the content tutor;
the teacher also informs the tutee's ESL teacher of
the tutoring report and subsequent recommendations.

A *peer teacher aide* helps in the ESL classroom
by working with small groups of students or individ-
ual students according to lesson plans prepared by
the ESL teacher. In the ESL classroom, the teacher,
peer teacher aides, and two adult aides rotate from
one group to another. The peer teacher aides and
adult aides are responsible for checking student
performance in drill-type activity and for discus-
sing problems at the end of the class period.

Both content tutors and peer teacher aides do a
great deal more. According to Akigbe, they also:

> help in making games to go with the speci-
> fic lessons, conversation tapes, writing
> rules in [the tutees'] native language for
> classroom teachers, as well as school
> contracts in the students' first lan-
> guages, and correcting papers. They are
> sometimes sent to other classes to help
> interpret standards or explain problems to
> non-English speaking students. Content
> tutors and peer teacher aides take stu-
> dents to the library and help with library
> assignments and lead campus tours of small
> groups of ESL students for orientation
> lessons. They are also helpful in taking
> students to the nurse's office and to
> other stations where an interpreter is
> needed. (p. 2-3)

Because the tutors do not evaluate the tutees
(they neither give grades nor keep records), they
are viewed by the tutees as friends with whom they
can discuss problems that they would not feel com-
fortable discussing with a teacher. This sense of
trust may be facilitated by the fact that during
this initial stage, the peer tutors are either

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former ESL students (whose native language is either
Spanish or Korean) or students who are Spanish-
English or Korean-English bilinguals because of
their home environment. In either case, the tutors
must be honor roll students with strong personal
qualities.

The second phase of the program begins once the
ESL tutees have broken the language barrier--once
they have become able to function with English in
the school setting. At this point, they are
assigned a monolingual English tutor, who takes over
the responsibilities of the content tutor (adapting
these somewhat to the now-different needs of the
tutee). Exactly how much progress a tutee must have
made in order to be assigned a monolingual peer
tutor is not specified in Akigbe's report; clearly,
though, the monolingual peer tutor's primary role is
that of a "big brother" or "big sister" who provides
modeling in the target langauge and in cultural
behavior patterns for the ESL tutee. In addition,
the tutor should facilitate the development of
friendships with other native-speaker age-peers.

All tutors receive training both before they
begin tutoring and while they are tutoring. Both
content and peer teacher aides are regularly ob-
served by the ESL teacher, who provides constructive
criticism. The teacher also makes supplementary
material available and shows the tutors how to use
audiovisual equipment. For their participation,
tutors receive school credit under the heading of
"school service."

In Akigbe's view, the greatest strength of this
multidimensional peer tutoring program is that it
contributes in numerous ways to the adjustment of
the non-English-speaking student to the junior high
school:

> ESL students no longer have to experience
> failure in a school with limited bilingual
> or ESL academic courses. Content teachers
> have an interpreter/translator service
> when needed. The overburdened ESL teacher
> can give individual attention to students
> by using the tutors for grouping, and can

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motivate his students by the use of games
made by the tutors. Misunderstandings can
be prevented because students have been
informed of school rules which are
included in contracts in the student's
language. Communication with other
departments concerning the progress of ESL
students is facilitated by the use of the
tutoring report. The bilingual and mono-
lingual content tutors and peer teacher
aides are viewed by ESL students as
friends who build a bridge for language,
culture and knowledge in the junior high
setting. (pp. 8-9)

There are several reasons why a tutoring pro-
gram such as this may not be feasible in many set-
tings. Schools with a more heterolinguistic ESL
population may find it impossible to gather a suffi-
cient number of former ESL students and other
bilinguals to provide for the needs of learners from
a variety of first language backgrounds. The obvi-
ous administrative complexity of the program may
also overtax an ESL staff with large numbers of stu-
dents and little release time to coordinate the pro-
gram. Nonetheless, the idea of providing different
kinds of peer involvement at the different stages in
ESL students' adjustment is worthy of serious
attention.

Most intergrade programs in second language
learning have older, fluent speakers of the language
teach or tutor younger, less proficient learners.
An underexploited variation of the intergrade pat-
tern is to have second language learners use their
developing language skills in working with younger
learners (either fluent speakers or, like the tutors
themselves, second language learners). While the
older learners may be less proficient linguistic-
ally, they have knowledge and skills that they can
successfully impart to younger peers, even with lim-
ited fluency in the language.

An activity in which limited-English sixth
graders write stories and then dramatize them for
younger students (some monolingual English speakers,

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some limited-English speakers) is described by
Schmelter (1972). Although her report makes it
clear that the activity was not part of a regular,
systematic program of peer teaching, it could very
easily be the basis of a modest program of peer
involvement of this type.

As part of their classroom work in reading and
writing skills, Schmelter's students wrote and
illustrated short stories. Each student presented
a summary of the story to the class; the student
explained the new words they had used in their
stories, and these words were added to the chil-
dren's vocabulary lists.

The students had already been going into
fourth- and fifth-grade classes to present their
stories when the activity was expanded to include a
first-grade class. A special story based on
material first graders could understand was written
as a group project, and large pictures were cut out
and mounted on poster board to illustrate the story.
Four sixth graders with reading deficiencies were
chosen first to dramatize the story and then to
teach their parts to four first graders. The sixth
graders helped their younger peers with pronuncia-
tion, expression, and story sequence.

The experiment culminated when the first grad-
ers came into the sixth-grade class and dramatized
the story for the students who had originally writ-
ten it. In Schmelter's view, the activity was both
enjoyable and productive, as the sixth graders with
language difficulties had had an opportunity to dis-
cover that they had the ability to create an activ-
ity that promoted the younger students' interest and
language development.

INTERSCHOOL

A program developed by Worcester Polytechnic
Institute (WPI) and the Transitional Bilingual
Program of Massachusetts (Martin & Berka, 1980) pro-
vides an example of interinstitutional cooperation

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to address the needs of bilingual students, and con-
firms the value of peer tutoring in a bilingual
setting.

Science and engineering students from WPI
taught science to children in kindergarten through
eighth grade in bilingual classrooms in a number of
schools. Among these WPI resource aides were native
speakers of Spanish, who could provide science
teaching skills that teachers in the bilingual pro-
gram lacked. In addition, they served as positive
role models for limited-English children.

Six WPI students were teamed with five bilin-
gual teachers for an academic year. The aides con-
ducted science classes in English and initiated peer
teaching in small groups. The groups consisted of
students with varying English language and science
skills; peer teaching emphasized basic scientific
concepts and the ability to translate these from
English to Spanish.

A number of benefits resulted from this cooper-
ative program. The bilingual teachers learned to
teach science more effectively through their contact
with the WPI students, who were not teachers them-
selves. The WPI students received valuable experi-
ence in communicating their knowledge to nonexperts
--the students and the teachers. At the same time,
their experience in the bilingual classrooms
acquainted them with teaching as a possible career.
Extensive contact with fluent, bilingual, college-
age students provided the bilingual pupils with
positive role models and awakened their interest in
science and scientific careers.

RECIPROCAL

The existence in many settings of two groups of
language learners, each learning the native language
of the other group, creates a unique opportunity for
reciprocal peer teaching. In no other area of edu-
cation are learners as likely to have complementary

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abilities that allow them to assume alternately and
purposefully the role of tutor and tutee.

Two examples of reciprocal peer involvement in
second language learning are described here. One
involved elementary school children learning Spanish
and English; the other was designed to enhance the
learning of French and English by college-age stu-
dents in a bilingual college in Canada.

English-Spanish

An experimental program in reciprocal peer
tutoring was designed by August (1982). Twenty-six
Mexican-American children participated in the pro-
gram. The children ranged in age from six to ten;
all were pupils in a special early childhood educa-
tion program for kindergarten through fourth grade
in a K-8 elementary school in Mountain View, Calif.
Of the 729 children enrolled in the school, 118 were
classified as limited-English speakers.

The 26 participants in August's program had
been assessed (by means of the James Language Domi-
nance Test) to be either limited-English speakers
(and fluent Spanish speakers) or fluent English
speakers (and limited-Spanish speakers). In the
first phase of the program (in fact, the first of
two experiments to measure the effect of peer inter-
action on second language development), 12 limited-
English children (LES)--including an equal number of
boys and girls--functioned as peer tutors for fluent
English-speaking children (FES).

During the time when their language arts class
met, the tutors were taught an activity by an in-
structional aide. Each of the activities was short,
and each contained an element of novelty. The
activities were drawn from art, cooking, magic, and
science. The instructional aide taught the tutors
both the English vocabulary and the procedures
necessary to teach the activity to an FES peer.

Tutoring sessions took place after lunch time
in the language arts center. Each LES tutor was
able to select an FES partner (tutee) to work with.
Both tutors and tutees had received training before

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the beginning of the program, so that all partici-
pants knew the rules for the peer tutoring sessions.
For example, one rule stated that tutees should
allow tutors to communicate by gesture only after
the tutors had made several attempts to convey
information in English.

Altogether, the first phase of the program con-
sisted of 30 one-hour sessions that took place over
a period of several months. Each of the LES tutors
participated in peer tutoring in place of their
regular language class, in which the Distar Language
Program was used.

In the second part of the program, 14 FES chil-
dren--again, an equal number of boys and girls--were
peer tutors for LES pupils. The purpose of peer
tutoring in this phase was to determine the effect
of peer tutoring on the Spanish development of the
FES children, who used the Spanish version of the
Distar program in their regular Spanish-language
classroom. Again, the nonfluent tutor was to teach
an activity in the target language to a fully fluent
peer.

As in the first phase of the program, the
tutors were taught an activity by an instructional
aide, who helped the children with the Spanish
vocabulary and procedures necessary to teach the
activity to a fluent Spanish-speaking partner. For
this part of the experiment, the activities involved
art or cooking. The tutors were able to choose a
fluent Spanish peer to work with, and again each
tutor engaged in 30 one-hour tutoring sessions over
a period of several months.

The results of August's study are discussed
in the Appendix (see p. 140). Two final points
will be made here. First, the peer tutoring pro-
gram, as designed by August, did not attempt to have
pairs of LES and FES students teach each other in
English and Spanish, respectively. For reasons of
experimental design, restrictions had to be placed
on whom the FES (limited-Spanish students) could
choose as tutees during the second phase of the
program. Clearly, however, the program could be
easily modified (and undoubtedly would be modified)
to allow for genuine reciprocal peer teaching. For

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this reason, it has been discussed as an example of reciprocal peer involvement.

Secondly, the program is based on the concept of having the less fluent partner act as peer teacher or tutor. This is probably less common than the use of a more fluent peer to teach or tutor a less fluent peer, but research in second language acquisition and the results obtained in a number of programs argue strongly for further exploitation of this approach to cross-level peer involvement.

English-French

A peer involvement program, in which learners of both English and French as second languages learned each other's languages, was designed to meet the needs of a large number of students at Glendon College, a bilingual undergraduate university college in Toronto.

In their progress report on the program, Martin, Lewin and Cooke (1978) cite two main problems that the program was designed to address. The first was the relatively large number of ESL learners (more than one-fourth of the total student enrollment of 1,300 were native speakers of French from Quebec) and French as a second language (FSL) learners. In addition, there was relatively little mixing of students from these two groups; as a result, valuable opportunities to practice what had been learned in second language classes were not being exploited.

A program was designed to provide each language learner with an opportunity to meet with speakers of the target language in a situation in which the *target* language would be used. The program also provides each learner with an opportunity to meet with speakers of the target language in a setting in which the learner's *native* language would be used. Thus, each learner would receive the benefits of group activity in the learner's target language and would in turn, as a native speaker, provide the same benefits to other learners.

Twenty-four ESL students and 24 FSL students

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were selected to participate in the pilot phase of the program. Each group of students was subdivided into four smaller groups of six students each. As part of the first-year ESL or FSL course, each small ESL group would meet for an hour with a small FSL group to do various activities in English. Each small ESL group also met with another small FSL group for an hour a week to do activities in French.

An important feature of the program is the fact that ESL (or FSL) learners do not meet with the same group for one hour in English and one hour in French. Such a situation would be somewhat artificial, particularly when one group is more proficient in the target language than the other. By meeting with different groups, learners become accustomed to whichever language has been designated the code for a given pairing of groups.

It was hoped that the groups would choose, design, and direct their own activities after the first few meetings. It was further hoped that groups would do both typical classroom activities and out-of-class activities. They were encouraged to meet off-campus (e.g., to visit cafés, art galleries, street festivals, etc.); both for these activities and in on-campus meetings, the students' classroom instructors were available to provide help in making arrangements, reserving rooms, and locating and duplicating materials.

The goals of these peer interactions were the same as those of the participants' language classes: to improve oral skills, to give students opportunities to put their developing skills to use in authentic communication activities, and to expose students to another culture; to teach students, by putting them in contact with each other, to "understand, evaluate, criticize, discuss and appreciate another culture" (p. 127). In the classroom, spontaneous and directed conversation, debates, and games were used extensively. In interactions between groups of ESL and FSL students, many of these same activities were used. In addition, students taught minilessons in such different areas as macramé, the language situation in Quebec, backgammon, and macrobiotics.

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During the first group meetings, instructors
attended but deliberately refrained from directing
group activities or repairing conversational break-
downs. For the instructors of these students, as
for those in other new programs (for example, in the
program at the University of Sri Lanka; see pp. 65-
66), this new role can be difficult to adjust to, at
least initially. For the participants, too, the
group sessions required a period of adjustment. In
general, however, native speakers were extremely
supportive of their second language peers; they
listened carefully to what second language learners
were saying, anticipating conversational difficul-
ties and making conversational repairs. Native
speakers occasionally made corrections, and second
language learners often asked native speakers
whether they were using words correctly.

From anecdotal evidence, it appeared that all
participants were learning two important lessons
from the sessions. They learned that their own
language learning problems and frustrations were
shared by their peers, and they became more sensi-
tive to the needs of their language peers.

INFORMAL

Peer involvement programs of this type are pro-
bably more common than the number of published
reports would indicate. The program described by
Akigbe (1975) is an example of an effort to provide
for the adjustment of second language learners to a
school setting (see pp. 68-71). In this section, a
program designed for ESL students at the university
level is summarized.

The Conversation Tutor Program (CTP) is a model
of how peer tutoring can supplement a university-
level intensive English program (Conerly, 1980).
English-speaking students and community volunteers
work with small groups (three or fewer) of intensive
English students at the University of Southern
Mississippi. The main goal of the CTP is to meet

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the needs of second language students who are being
trained in linguistic skills but who lack the oppor-
tunity to use these acquired skills in communicative
settings. By providing students with a chance to
meet native speakers of American English in an
informal, nonthreatening situation, the CTP aims to
develop learners' confidence in their ability to
actually communicate in English, to increase their
understanding of U.S. culture and the sociolinguis-
tic rules of American English, and to make them more
aware of the role played by nonverbal and paralin-
guistic signals in communication.

The situation of foreign students at the Uni-
versity of Southern Mississippi is similar to that
of students in many other university-level intensive
English programs. Even when class size is small,
the intensive nature of the program limits students'
opportunity to develop real communicative control of
the language in the classroom. Outside of class, it
is often difficult for foreign students to make con-
tact with native speakers. Thus, despite the fact
that students are immersed in the target language
environment, they often lack the confidence and the
means to improve their oral proficiency in the
language through social interaction. Frequently,
the result is that foreign students spend time with
other foreign students, which contributes further to
their sense of isolation from native speakers and
engenders resentment and alienation.

The CTP consists of daily one-hour sessions.
Participation by intensive English students is
voluntary; those who participate continue to take
their full load of intensive English classes.
Sessions generally last from two to three weeks;
some students are encouraged to continue in the CTP
for another two- or three-week period.

Tutors are selected on the basis of competitive
interviews. CTP tutors are paid from the Intensive
English Language Institute budget and through the
federally supported Work Study Program at the
Hattiesburg campus. A supervisor and coordinator
are responsible for selecting and training person-
nel, assigning students to groups, coordinating

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scheduling, and administering financial reporting and evaluation.

Training for the tutors is extensive. In her report on the CTP, Conerly (1980) reviews these training procedures in detail. Training consists of consultations between the coordinator and individual tutors, a video training film and follow-up activity, and a series of group training sessions.

In the consultations with individual tutors, the coordinator familiarizes them with the purposes and procedures of the CTP. The activities on which the sessions are to be based are also discussed.

These activities are of two kinds. In the conversation activity, tutors are given a list of 20 possible conversation topics. Each includes specific suggestions for stimulating discussion. Examples of topics are: holidays, medicine, the role of women, superstition, death, and prejudice. Many of the topics relate directly or indirectly to the experience of living in a university community. Second, in field activities, tutors are encouraged to integrate out-of-class activities with the sessions. Trips to museums, shopping centers, supermarkets, local schools, and sporting events are encouraged in connection with discussions of related topics. On a limited basis, tutors may also have students participate in recreational activities. These field activities count for one-half time; in other words, a two-hour field trip to a museum counts as the equivalent of a one-hour "classroom" conversation session. The actual responsibility for planning each session and developing specific activities, however, is the tutors'.

The second part of the tutors' training is based on the video training film "Peer Tutoring" (Ferris, Krautwast, & Olson, 1978). This training film illustrates basic "dos and don'ts" in peer tutoring. After they view the film, tutors answer a set of self-check questions based on the film. One of the questions asks tutors how they would apply the guidelines presented to their own tutoring situation.

The final phase of tutor training consists of three workshops. These inservice meetings, flexibly

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scheduled according to program and personnel needs, allow tutors to discuss any administrative problems that may have arisen, to share their experiences with other tutors, and to plan additional activities such as parties and longer field excursions (which the tutors may choose to do on their own time for the benefit of their students). Each workshop has a central theme, however; these themes are "learning to attend," "barriers to communication," and "nonverbal cues and cross-cultural communication." Each training session is highly structured, with specific goals, materials, and activities (for a fuller description, see pp. 112-13).

Students are grouped according to level of proficiency. Tutors meet with up to three students with different first-language backgrounds and of roughly equal ability in English. In addition, care is taken to prevent a highly verbal student from dominating a session. In such cases, as well as in cases of personality conflicts, students may be moved to different conversational groups. Identification of such problems is the tutor's responsibility; the coordinator, once notified, takes whatever steps are necessary to correct the situation.

The CTP uses three different kinds of evaluation. Students evaluate their tutors; tutors evaluate their students; and the program as a whole is evaluated. Students who miss more than two sessions are dropped from the program; tutors who continually receive poor evaluations from their students are likewise dismissed.

Normally, a tutor meets with two different groups during each two-week period. At the end of two weeks, a tutor is assigned to two new groups of students. Over an eight-week period, then, a tutor may interact with over 20 different students. This, in the opinion of the Intensive English Language Institute staff members, is a cost-effective way of enriching the intensive English experience that students receive in their classes.

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[CHAPTER 4 CROSS-LEVEL PEER INVOLVEMENT IN FOREIGN
LANGUAGE LEARNING]

This chapter is organized in a way similar to
Chapter 3. Examples of cross-level peer involvement
programs developed for foreign language learning
situations will be described and compared.

SAME-AGE

In second language instruction, the use of
native-speaker peers as conversational partners for
foreign students at the college or university level
has great potential. Often, a similar possibility
exists in foreign language learning. A program
developed at the University of Missouri-Rolla
(Glauque, 1975) suggests ways in which foreign stu-
dents can contribute to first- and second-year lan-
guage courses and at the same time derive a number
of benefits from their involvement with foreign
language learners.

Of the 50 Latin American students enrolled at
the Rolla campus, three served as "animateurs" for a
Spanish class of some 20 American students. One day
a week, the class was divided into three groups,
each led by an animateur. While their tasks in-
cluded going over assignments, explaining difficult
points, and correcting grammar and pronunciation
errors, their main functions were to generate com-
munication in Spanish and to create a Spanish
ambiance.

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The point of departure for these small-group
workshop sessions was the current assignment. The
real goal of these sessions was to create a situa-
tion in which the students communicate with a
native-speaker peer. If the animateur was unable to
explain fully any material causing difficulty, the
professor, who circulated among the three groups
during the first several sessions, could make
suggestions.

The small-group work supplemented the four
hours of classroom instruction the students received
each week. In addition to providing a change from
whole-class, teacher-student interaction, the
sessions allowed the students to practice items they
had been learning in the course. The sessions also
provided for the use of the language skills that
they had begun to practice in class.

One advantage to having foreign students as
tutors is that learners tend to be less inhibited
with a speaker whose social position is the same as
their own. This difference is partly explained by
the greater authenticity of the tutor-tutee rela-
tionship in the workshop sessions (Giauque, 1975).
In the classroom,

> it is difficult for the American student
> to use the target language with a teacher
> who he knows speaks English. The teach-
> er's role, his subconscious tells him, is
> to teach, not to play at speaking another
> language. But if another person who is
> not the teacher, a peer, uses the target
> language, the American student immediately
> feels that the situation is authentic and
> his inhibitions disappear very rapidly.
> The teacher then becomes a source of help,
> rather than a source of annoyance.
> (pp. 131-32)

The foreign student tutors were selected on the
basis of intelligence, sensitivity to the problems
of learning a foreign language, empathy, imagina-
tion, pronunciation, and ability to accommodate
their speech to beginning learners. One hour of

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academic credit was given to the tutors (up to a maximum of three credit hours) for their participation in the program. In addition to meeting with their groups each week, the tutors were also expected to complete a limited amount of assigned reading and a project in one of several areas related to language instruction and cross-cultural behavior. A pass/fail grade was given by the supervising professor at the end of the academic quarter.

Because of the small scale of the program, the animateurs could work in close consultation with the supervising professor. Formal training was quite limited. The tutors observed at least one workshop session, mainly for the purpose of learning that no special preparation was necessary for them to tutor effectively.

Participation in the tutoring program offered the foreign students more than academic credit. The small-group interaction in Spanish that was so useful for the students in the Spanish class also produced social and psychological benefits for the tutors. American students learned to appreciate the contribution that foreign students can make to a campus, and friendships between tutors and their students often developed. All participants learned a great deal about another culture through direct contact that might otherwise not have occurred.

Whether such peer involvement can be developed in a particular setting depends, of course, on the availability of native speakers of the langauge being studied. Some colleges and universities may not have a sufficient number of native speakers of, say, German who are interested in serving as animateurs. One alternative is to find native speakers of the language in the larger community. Even then it may be difficult to find age-peers for the language learners, and scheduling problems would undoubtedly be more challenging.

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English-Speaking Learners of French

A cross-level peer tutoring project
(Fitz-Gibbon & Reay, 1982) involving first- and
fourth-year students of French in an urban compre-
hensive school in the Newcastle (England) area
suggests means for planning and carrying out a
small-scale intergrade program using teachers with-
out extensive inservice training.

Researchers from the School of Education at the
University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne met with the for-
eign language staff and administrators at a compre-
hensive school and suggested the possibility of an
experimental project in peer tutoring. The project
would be designed and run by participating teachers,
with the University contribution confined to col-
lecting evaluative data. Two teachers--one teaching
first-year students of French and the other a teach-
er of fourth-year French--agreed to collaborate.

The context in which this project took place
can be partially inferred from the results of a
questionnaire administered to first- and fourth-year
students before the program began. Asked to indi-
cate agreement or disagreement with a number of
statements about French language study, both groups
of students showed little reluctance in expressing
their dislike for the subject. Only one in ten stu-
dents agreed with the statement, "I enjoy French";
close to 80% agreed with the statements, "French is
a waste of time" and "I hate French." Not a single
one of the fourth-year students agreed with the
statement, "I would like to visit France," and only
3% of each group agreed that "French is a useful
subject."

What makes these results even more startling is
that the first-year students had not really even
begun to study French; their first-year course was a
"prelanguage" program that introduces French culture
and customs and a limited amount of vocabulary. By
contrast, the fourth-year students constituted the
relatively small percentage of students who had per-

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severed through three years of French already; thus
they were not dropouts, but the "survivors," so to
speak.

The participating teachers chose the exercises
that would be used in tutoring sessions:

> These involved French to English and Eng-
> lish to French translation of five vocabu-
> lary areas: numbers from one to forty,
> days of the week, naming colours, telling
> time and the weather. It was important
> that these topics represented work which
> the tutors [who were chosen from among
> low-achieving fourth-year students] needed
> to learn or practice and which were
> suitable for the tutees. (p. 40)

The project consisted of six 70-minute periods
over a three-week span. Each 70-minute period was
divided as follows: an initial 20-minute period
during which tutors prepared with their supervising
teacher, a 30-minute tutoring period, and a
20-minute discussion between tutors and their super-
vising teachers of the problems the tutors had
encountered. Half of the tutoring groups met in the
classroom of one of the teachers; the other half met
in the other supervising teacher's classroom.

The peer groups themselves consisted of one
tutor working with two tutees. Pairings were made
as follows:

> Tutees were assigned to tutors from rank-
> ordered lists, so that high-scoring tutors
> worked with high-scoring tutees. The main
> concern prompting this method of assign-
> ment was the need to avoid having a tutor
> faced with a tutee who was more able. (p. 41)

Although the supervising teachers were present
in the classrooms while the tutoring sessions took
place, they did not interfere in the tutoring

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sessions; suggestions and corrections were given to tutors only during the follow-up period.

The supervising teachers characterized the tutoring sessions as orderly and purposeful; although different tutors chose different teacher styles--some relaxed and informal, others very businesslike--all the tutors, despite being low-achieving fourth-year students, proved quite capable of conducting the sessions without assistance. The quality of the teaching seemed to vary according to the quality of resource materials available for use by the tutors. Information on the success of the project, as measured by the evaluative data collected, is reported in the Appendix (see pp. 145-46).

Portuguese-Speaking Learners of English

The Fitz-Gibbon and Reay (1982) intergrade peer tutoring project was designed to stimulate the interest of poorly motivated and low-achieving fourth-year students. The program at the Catholic University of São Paulo (Brazil), which Celani (1979) reports on, was directed primarily at the needs of first-year students taking a degree in English.

The problem was one that most language teachers have to deal with to some degree. The students' initial enthusiasm for acquiring oral skills in English often disappeared very quickly. According to Celani, there were a number of reasons for this widespread decrease in motivation. Foremost, perhaps, was the fact that students had virtually no access to English outside of class. In view of the lack of practice opportunities outside of class, the students' initial expectations may also have been unrealistic; in 1977, more than 86% of the 170 first-year students indicated that they expected, after a single year of instruction, to acquire near-native speaking and listening skills in English. In addition, the curriculum for the first two years of instruction was aimed much more at skill-building-- that is, practicing the language for its own sake-- than at using the language for communication.

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A number of measures were taken to provide for
greater use of English in the first-year classes:
individualized pacing, small-group work emphasizing
role-playing, simulations, and other more "communi-
cative" activities (such as classroom activities
based on interviews of the few native speakers of
English in the community). What seemed to be most
effective, however, was a peer tutoring program in
which selected fourth-year students met with groups
of about ten first-year students for three or four
hours a week.

The fourth-year students (referred to as "moni-
tors"), who had been selected on the basis of their
oral proficiency in English, their personalities,
and their enthusiasm for language learning and
interest in foreign culture, provided extra small-
group language practice and helped students with
individual learning difficulties. These activities
were a useful supplement to what the first-year stu-
dents received in their regular classes. But the
greater benefit of the program was psychological;
according to Celani (1979), the monitors were:

> the realisation of an ideal, the ideal
> near native speakers that most beginners
> aim at becoming by the end of the course.
> Thus it has been possible to sustain the
> initial high motivation, in spite of
> adverse circumstances, by having monitors
> close to first-year students, as evidence
> of what can be achieved in not too long a
> period of time. The junior students know
> that only three years earlier their moni-
> tors were in a position similar to theirs.
> (p. 199)

For the monitors themselves, the program
apparently provided important benefits. The moni-
tors received no compensation, and the time commit-
ment was substantial--roughly ten hours a week,
including preparation, consultation with teachers,
and actual contact with the first-year students.
Yet competition among fourth-year students to become
monitors was keen. Being a monitor carried a great

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deal of prestige; in addition, it provided more
advanced learners with an opportunity to practice
their language skills and use the language in a
meaningful way.

English-Speaking Learners of German

Like the tutoring program for Brazilian learn-
ers of English, the program developed by Semke
(1975) for American learners of German at Westmar
(Ia.) College was based on the premise that peer
involvement provides benefits to both the more
advanced tutors and the less advanced tutees. Un-
like the program at the Catholic University of São
Paulo, however, the Westmar program was developed as
an integral part of both the first- and second-year
German courses; it was thus designed to involve
all students at these levels. The program was to be
a part of each first-year student's experience with
the language, and all second-year students--not just
those who were most proficient in German or most
enthusiastic about working with less advanced learn-
ers--would act as tutors.
    One hour a week of "drill sessions" was added
to the four regular class hours at both levels.
Based on the schedules of the students in the two
classes, five drill session groups were set up.
Each small group consisted of between six and ten
students, with a minimum of two second-year students
and four first-year students in each group. Alto-
gether, the program involved 27 first-year German
students and 16 second-year German students.
    The tutors themselves were to be in charge of
the sessions. Since the tutoring sessions would be
directed at the materials the first-year students
were working with, some of the first-year course
material (the *Guten Tag* film series and textbook)
was included in the second-year course. The tutors
also took the same weekly tests on *Guten Tag* as the
first-year students.
    Each week, short discussions were held in the
second-year class to determine what would be done in
the upcoming drill session. The most frequently

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used activities were: conversation practice based on question-answer drills; vocabulary drills; oral reading; review of grammar exercises; and review of the current film. The tutors were not restricted to these activities, however.

Responsibility for making the drill sessions useful was shared by the tutors and tutees. The tutors filled out a form after each session that summarized and evaluated the session. The first-year students also kept a record of their attendance (attendance at the sessions counted toward the final grade in each course).

Student reaction to the program at the end of the first semester was overwhelmingly favorable; all but one of the 27 first-year students wanted the program continued during the following semester. The tutees found the sessions enjoyable and helpful. For the second-year students, the program was also rewarding, and all of the tutors were willing to continue participation in the program during the second semester.

From the teacher's perspective, the fact that the students were using German during most of the hour was an important asset of the program. The more relaxed atmosphere of the small-group format was also considered valuable in allowing the tutees to ask questions and to seek help. The program was seen as instrumental in reducing the attrition rate after the end of the first semester. Twenty of the 27 first-year students continued with the second semester; in the two previous years, only slightly more than half of the first-year students had done so.

INTERSCHOOL

French and Spanish

In an interschool tutoring program described by Biehn (1975), students in third- and fourth-level high school French and Spanish classes taught FLES classes to students in grades 4-6. One of the most

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noteworthy features of this program was that the
tutors participated in preparing teaching units and
materials.

The need for the program arose, when a new
school building was opened in the Geneseo (N.Y.)
School District. Half of the K-6 children were
moved to the new facility, but no FLES teacher was
hired for the new building. Concerned about the
possibility that a flourishing FLES program would no
longer be available to all elementary students, the
foreign language department at the high school
received permission to develop a peer teaching
program.

The tutors in the program were volunteers who
gave up study hall periods or foreign language class
periods twice a week in order to participate. The
entire third quarter of the school year was spent in
planning the program, which did not begin until the
fourth quarter. During this time, the tutors were
active in developing the course content (Biehn,
1975):

> Each would-be tutor made up a teaching
> unit on an assigned topic (colors, ani-
> mals, classroom objects, etc.). They sug-
> gested vocabulary and indicated teaching
> methods. They made visuals such as flash-
> cards and charts that could be used. They
> especially tried to think of games that
> could be played and described these games
> in the unit. Then all of the units were
> placed in a central file accessible to all
> the tutors. The plan was to cover as many
> of the units as possible, but there was no
> pressure to finish them all. There was no
> strict order as to which unit had to
> follow which. The tutors chose the units
> they planned to teach each week according
> to the capabilities of their group and ac-
> cording to their own personal preference.
> (pp. 929-30)

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As part of their initial training, several of
the tutors participated in simulated teaching
situations with seventh-grade students. Videotapes
were made of these sessions; the tapes were then
viewed and discussed by all the tutors. Tutors were
instructed to emphasize the spoken language,
although attention to writing was not excluded.
They were also instructed to report any disciplinary
problems to the elementary teachers immediately.

Participation in the FLES program was volun-
tary. The elementary school teachers sent out a
mailing that explained the program to parents.
After parents had indicated whether their child
would participate and which language the child would
study, the elementary teachers placed the children
into compatible learning groups of three to five
students. Each tutor met with one of these groups
twice a week for a half-hour each time. Because of
the "open school" nature of the elementary classroom
building, finding a comfortable place to meet infor-
mally presented no difficulty.

While they were teaching, the tutors recorded
their teaching experience in journals. They kept
track of their own performance and of the progress
of their students (although the FLES students
received no grades).

Altogether, more than 20 peer teachers and,
close to 100 FLES students participated in the pilot
phase of the program. The students' progress
exceeded expectations, and the number of students
who dropped out was very small. On the whole, the
tutors found that their experience in the program,
which offered them the opportunity to use what they
had learned in their own language learning efforts,
was highly rewarding.

The use of language students as peer teachers
in a situation in which conventional teacher-
directed instruction is not possible may be one of
the most productive applications of peer involvement
in foreign language learning. As school systems
come under increasing pressure to reduce budgets,
many so-called "luxuries"--prominent among these,
FLES and other language programs for elementary
school children--are dropped; in other cases, such

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programs are not established because of the staffing
costs involved.

French, Spanish, and German

An even larger-scale interschool peer teaching
program was begun in 1975 in the Memphis (Tenn.)
City School System. By the 1977-78 school year, 80
second-year high school students of French, Spanish,
and German were providing peer instruction to
approximately 1,500 elementary students in ten dif-
ferent elementary schools.

The High School Languages Tutoring Program
(Williford, 1979) was developed after other alter-
natives proved unfeasible. Funds to provide trained
personnel to offer foreign language instruction at
the elementary level were not available, and
attempts to have local colleges and universities set
up a course to train elementary teachers were unsuc-
cessful. The High School Languages Tutoring Program
offered academic credit to second-year high school
students for teaching elementary students twice a
week for 45 minutes. Scheduling was made possible
by the fact that the high school day ended an hour
earlier than the elementary school day, so that
instruction could be offered to the elementary stu-
dents at the end of their school day. The program
was based on wide support and coordination among the
foreign language consultant for the Memphis City
School System, high school teachers, and principals
at participating elementary schools.

Lessons and materials were selected and pre-
pared by the teachers and the foreign language
consultant, who also acted as liaison between the
elementary schools and the high schools. High
school foreign language teachers assisted in the
planning and preparation work of tutors on the three
days of the week when the tutors were not teaching.
The role of the elementary teachers was to sit in
on classes and maintain discipline. Tutor perfor-
mance, including ability, attitude, cooperation, and
personality, was evaluated by all participating
teachers.

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The lessons given to the elementary students
focused on topics usually covered in FLES programs:
greetings, names, colors, numbers, parts of the
body, articles of clothing, foods, and commands. In
activities such as games, songs, skits, and role
playing, the elementary students received an initial
exposure to the spoken language.

The success of the program is reflected in the
reports of both the elementary school principals,
who stated that the program was an important factor
in retaining some students in the public schools,
and high school teachers, who claimed that many stu-
dents were enrolling in the second-year language
courses because of their interest in participating
in the tutorial program.

RECIPROCAL

The concept of reciprocal peer involvement in
foreign language learning is well-illustrated by a
program developed at the University of York (Eng-
land) Language Teaching Centre (Dalwood, 1977). The
concept is to:

> pair off an equal number of native speak-
> ers of two target languages who act turn
> and turn about as teacher-informant and
> learner, within a carefully planned time-
> table which also allows for group discus-
> sions held one day in one language, one
> day in the other. The language-of-the-day
> principle extends in fact to all social
> intercourse and all work, except for daily
> target language sessions. (p. 73)

Based on successful implementation of such a
program for English teachers of Spanish and Spanish
teachers of English, the Centre initiated a summer
program for sixth-form students of French and French
peers learning English.

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The program was designed for groups of well-motivated students, with the total number of participants no fewer than 12 and no more than 32. The program lasts from two to three weeks, during which time the French students come to York and stay at the homes of the English participants or with other families as paying guests.[1]

The key activity in the program is work in pairs. Each pair consists of an English student and a French student, who alternate as teacher and tutee. The pair meets for 75 minutes in the morning and works with a reading text, exercises, and discussion questions selected and prepared by the staff. The role of the peer teacher is to explain difficulties and in general to help the tutee work through the various tasks presented. In the afternoon, pairs come together in small groups (the maximum is four pairs, or eight students, per group) and work further with a member of the staff on the text and accompanying worksheet, again using the language of the day.

Other components of the program include small-group work in aural comprehension and oral expression, pronunciation practice, daily plenary sessions in the language of the day, and evening and weekend activities and excursions. The staff consists of four adult tutors (one of whom serves as the program director). All staff members are effectively bilingual, although two are native speakers of English and two are native speakers of French.

Crucial to the success of the program is the method by which participants are paired. One procedure considered for adoption at the time of Dalwood's report is a system in which each English-speaking participant can choose his or her French-speaking partner on English language days; French

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[1] While it might be argued that the group visiting the host community is, during the duration of its stay, engaged in a *second* language learning experience, the stay is generally so short that the basic relationship of the target language community to the learners remains essentially the same.

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participants can choose their English partners on French language days. Pairing is thus flexible and student-determined.

, Reciprocal programs such as this obviously require much more long-range planning than most other peer involvement programs. The cost of the program for participants coming to the host community is considerable, and the administrative work involved in setting up the program, preparing materials, finding suitable staff, and arranging for accommodations requires a long-term commitment. Hosting a reciprocal program is an alternative to taking a group of language learners on a study-abroad program, but in no way is it less demanding of the organizer's time and energy. It should thus be best viewed as a very special--and less widely applicable--pattern of peer involvement in foreign language learning.

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[CHAPTER 5
SETTING UP A PEER INVOLVEMENT PROGRAM]

In this chapter, general guidelines for setting up a
cross-level peer involvement program in language
learning are given. The focus of the chapter is on
the various decision-making areas that need to be
considered in planning, operating, and evaluating a
peer teaching or tutoring project.

Because peer involvement programs can vary so
greatly in size and scope, the initial stages of
program development may need to be more formal in
some settings than in others. Even in small-scale
projects, however, participating teachers and admin-
istrators would be well-advised to give the same
care to planning as must necessarily take place in
larger programs. Small-scale projects can often be
expanded to include more students and to encompass
more goals; thus, careful initial planning can make
the transition to a larger program much easier.

DESIGNING THE PROGRAM

Often, the general shape of a program--the stu-
dents whom it will serve, the goals toward which it
will be directed, and other factors--will be dic-
tated by an already-existing need or problem. In
such cases, as well as in situations in which peer
involvement is viewed as a desirable program com-
ponent, planning begins with a precise assessment of
needs, goals, and resources.

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Needs and Goals

In the best of circumstances, periodic curriculum evaluation will already have suggested in what ways learners' needs are not being met and what educational outcomes are not being produced. Attrition rates in foreign language courses, poor performance on end-of-term tests, and widespread poor attitudes toward foreign language study are observable symptoms of a need to reassess an existing foreign language program. Sometimes, however, unanticipated problems arise. In second language learning situations, a large influx of limited-English speakers to a school system can take place without advance warning. Nevertheless, the difficulty limited-English speakers (or learners of any other second language) may have in coping with the mainstream program and in fitting into the social structure of the school--even when transitional ESL classes are provided--can be anticipated.

The first step in designing a peer involvement program as a partial solution to problems such as these is to determine as precisely as possible the nature of the problem and, if possible, to break the problem down into its component parts. Part of this process is determining whether the problem is a general one or one that affects certain students, or groups of students, more than others. Questions such as the following are useful to ask at this planning stage:

● Is there a link between academic success of limited-English students in our school and their social integration in the school?

● At what point in a foreign language program is the attrition rate the highest?

● Are there specific skills that our second or foreign language students fail to learn in the normal language classes?

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• Are there particular attitudes or intergroup
tensions that cooperative contact among students
might counteract?

From the answers to these initial questions often
comes a clearer statement of needs and goals. Along
with this first task, it is important to make an
initial assessment of the resources available in
setting up a peer involvement program.

Resources

In the initial planning and design stage,
attention must be given to available resources.
Preliminary consideration of each of the following
questions may be helpful in determining what is and
is not feasible:

What kind of *administrative support* is avail-
able? What role might the principal(s) or head-
master(s) in the school(s) involved be willing to
play in promoting a peer involvement program? Is
there an ESL or foreign language coordinator available
able to provide overall coordination?

How many members of the *teaching staff* might be
interested in participating in the training and
supervision process? In what way can these addi-
tional responsibilities be most fairly added to
their workload?

What kind of *clerical assistance* is available?
If none, on whom will this responsibility fall, or
how can it be distributed?

How many potential *tutors* are there in the
school building (or in the school system)? What
possibilities exist for enlisting the participation
of potential tutors?

What *facilities* are available for use by the
program? Will there be rooms available for tutoring
to take place? Is there secure but accessible space

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for storage of a central file of teaching/tutoring
materials? Will there be appropriate meeting space
available for such activities as tutor training,
tutee orientation, and consultations between tutors
and supervising teachers?

Are *funds* available to cover costs of materials
or materials preparation? What funds exist to cover
mailing and publicity costs (for example, when
mailings will be sent to parents or to the community
at large)?

Again, in many situations--particularly when
the program is conceived as a small-scale pilot
project involving a single teacher or two cooper-
ating teachers--many of these questions are less
immediately relevant than in planning for a larger
program. The best guiding principle for initial
program design is to think initially in terms of a
modest initial program without ignoring altogether
the possibility that the program will be expanded.

The initial planning stage may help program
designers rule out certain possibilities and focus
their attention more clearly on others. From the
planning stage should emerge a preliminary plan for
allocating responsibility in a number of areas and
for coordinating each person's participation. The
plan should take each of the following areas into
consideration:

- selection of participants;

- recruitment of tutors and program publicity;

- pairing and grouping procedures;

- scheduling;

- preservice training of tutors;

- orientation of tutees;

- supervision and inservice consultation with
  tutors;

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- record-keeping, including evaluation of tutors, tutees, and the program;

- progress reports to classroom teachers, school administration, and parents; and

- materials acquisition, preparation, and filing.

SELECTION OF PARTICIPANTS

Program needs and goals determine to a large extent which students are selected to participate in a peer involvement program. Two basic options exist. In some cases, a program is *all-inclusive*: All students in one or more classes participate. Many programs are based on the premise that peer involvement provides benefits for all participants; participation, as an integral part of the overall course, is mandatory. Examples of all-inclusive programs include the Westmar College program (see pp. 90-91) and the experimental program at the University of Sri Lanka (see pp. 65-66).

More commonly, peer involvement programs are *selective*: A limited number of students tutor another group (or class). New programs often begin on this basis, with the aim of becoming all-inclusive at a later time. In selective peer involvement programs, the basis of selection of tutors and tutees can vary greatly. In same-level programs, one obvious approach is to have high-achieving (more proficient) learners tutor low-achieving (less proficient) learners. In cross-level programs, tutors are often selected according to several criteria, including intelligence, fluency, personality, and enthusiasm. Sometimes, however, a cross-level program is specifically designed to address the needs of the tutors as well as those of the tutees. In such cases, the tutors themselves may be low achievers or other individuals for whom peer involvement might be highly reinforcing (for example,

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the Whisman Language Tutor Program, described on
pp. 67-68).

In selective programs, selection of tutees is
generally the responsibility of the teacher(s), in
some cases with the assistance of guidance person-
nel, the language teaching supervisor, or other
administrative staff. However, in some cases--many
peer-taught FLES programs fall into this category--
parents' preferences determine which students will
receive peer instruction.

Selection of tutors is sometimes a delicate
matter. While it may be more efficient for tutors
to be hand-picked, so to speak, it is probably wiser
to inform *all* potential tutors of the aims of a peer
involvement program and the criteria that will be
used in selecting tutors. Many students who might
be overlooked may in fact be quite interested in
serving as a peer teacher or tutor, and these stu-
dents may in fact have certain characteristics (such
as enthusiasm and other personal qualities) that
will enable them to work very effectively with less
proficient peers.

A peer involvement program based on volun-
teering will need criteria for selecting tutors.
Following is a list of the main factors that the
various peer programs described in this volume have
used:

- academic achievement (high or low, depending on
  program goals);

- proficiency in the target language;

- knowledge of the native language of second lan-
  guage learners;

- sensitivity to language learners and other
  cultures;

- personality (empathy, enthusiasm, imagination,
  etc.); and

- work habits and attitude (cooperation, ability
  to deal with criticism, etc.)

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RECRUITMENT OF TUTORS AND PROGRAM PUBLICITY

In some settings, the problem is not so much
one of choosing from among a large group of volun-
teers as it is finding an adequate number of
suitable tutors. When tutors must be recruited,
thought must be given to incentives that might make
peer teaching or tutoring attractive to potential
participants. Recruitment involves two activities:
identifying potentially effective tutors and publi-
cizing the program and its benefits for tutors. An
example of how potential tutors can be identified is
given by Akigbe (1975). In the program she devel-
oped for ESL students at the junior high school
level (see pp. 68-71), all of the following methods
were used to recruit bilingual and monolingual peer
tutors:

- observations kept on the progress of former ESL
  students;

- honor roll and cumulative records;

- counselor recommendations;

- teacher recommendations (especially from
  department chairpeople);

- recommendations of former tutors;

- discussion and recruitment from regular English
  classes by ESL coordinator (or from foreign
  language classes by foreign language
  coordinator);

- notices in the daily student bulletin; and

- support of English teachers through informative
  discussion of the importance and advantages of
  being bilingual.

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In many programs based on voluntary participation, the intangible benefits of the program are often viewed by tutors as sufficient reward for their efforts. In other cases, additional incentives are offered. These are generally of three kinds.

Compensation

At the college or university level, it is sometimes possible to link a peer involvement project with a work study program, so that tutors are actually paid for their services. This puts participation in a peer involvement program into the same category as tutoring work at remedial learning skills centers such as exist in most colleges and universities in the United States. The Conversation Tutor Program at the University of Southern Mississippi (see pp. 78-81) is an example of a program that offers compensation.

Academic Credit

Many secondary and postsecondary schools have arrangements to award academic credit for certain kinds of work experiences. Two programs described earlier in this volume--one at the junior high level (see pp. 68-71) and one at the senior high school level (see pp. 94-95)--offer this incentive for participation.

Performance Awards

Neither compensation nor academic credit may be appropriate in many peer involvement situations. There are other ways to recognize conscientious and effective participation in a peer involvement program that both provide peer tutors with a sense of achievement and enhance the prestige of the program itself within the school. Certificates of participation, official letters of commendation,

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announcements at school meetings and award
assemblies, and other forms of publicity give tutors
public recognition of the efforts they make on
behalf of their fellow students. In the Whisman
Language Tutor Program (described on pp. 67-68),
iron-on transfers of the program logo are awarded
after a period of successful tutoring; these, along
with certificates of accomplishment awarded at the
end of the year, provide tangible evidence of the
contribution that tutors make to their peers and to
the school as a whole.

                    PAIRING AND GROUPING

     The way in which tutors and tutees are matched
is another area in which decisions are shaped in
large part by program goals and by the number of
participants involved. For example, in foreign lan-
guage programs in which low-achieving tutors are
paired or grouped with younger, less advanced tu-
tees, care must be taken to ensure that no tutees
are placed with a tutor less advanced than the
tutees themselves. The experimental program de-
scribed by Fitz-Gibbon and Reay (1982; see pp. 86-
88) placed peer tutors and tutees in rank-ordered
lists based on pretest scores and grouped the
students on the basis of these rankings. In cross-
level programs in which the tutors are all consid-
erably more advanced than the tutees, matching of
this kind is less crucial.
     In some cases, the number of tutees will be
much greater than the number of tutors. Grouping in
such programs tends to aim at creating small groups
of tutees of mixed ability, so that slower learners
will have both more advanced learners at their own
level as well as their peer teachers or tutors to
provide motivation and direction.
     Another general practice in cross-level pro-
grams is to restrict dyads to same-sex pairings,
although there is little empirical evidence to sup-
port the claim that same-sex pairings facilitate

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learning (Feldman, Devin-Sheehan, & Allen, 1976).
Often, it is not even possible to follow conven-
tional practice, as the group of tutors may be pre-
dominantly male or female.

Two other possibilities for pairing and
grouping are student-determined pairings--an example
of this is described in the reciprocal program at
the University of York (see pp. 95-97)--and rotating
pairings and groupings, in which tutors work with
different individuals or small groups for short
periods of time. This latter possibility should be
viewed with caution, however, since it may prevent
tutees from establishing durable affective bonds
with a tutor and thus undermine an important goal of
a peer involvement program.

SCHEDULING

Scheduling problems will undoubtedly figure
heavily in preliminary discussions of a peer in-
volvement program. If planning takes place far
enough in advance, two or more participating
teachers may be able to arrange for their classes to
be scheduled during the same time slot so that all
participating students in an intergrade cross-level
program will be free at the same time. With such an
arrangement, pairs or small groups of students can
meet in one or more of the classrooms.

Sometimes, peer tutoring will have to take
place outside of normally scheduled classes, during
study hall periods, recesses, or other free time.
Here, the participation of school administrators can
be invaluable; administrative personnel are in a
much better position than regular classroom teachers
to anticipate such scheduling needs and to devise
solutions. Peer tutoring and teaching sessions held
outside of class time are of course easier to
arrange at the university level; even here, however,
responsibility for securing adequate meeting rooms
should generally be taken by supervising teachers or
administrative personnel.

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As for the ideal length of sessions, the tendency is for peer teaching or tutoring involving elementary school students to last no more than 30 minutes. Sessions involving older learners should range between 30 and 75 minutes, with the most appropriate period to be determined by the level of proficiency of the participants and the nature of the activities done in the sessions.

In determining both the length of individual sessions and the number of sessions per week, program designers should keep in mind that peer teachers and tutors will need roughly twice as much time for preparation, record-keeping, and consultation with supervising teachers (or the program coordinator) as the actual amount of time spent in peer teaching or tutoring sessions themselves. In the actual scheduling of meeting times, it may be wise to schedule, whenever possible, a block of time during which preparation, peer teaching or tutoring sessions, and follow-up consultation or record-keeping can take place consecutively.

PRESERVICE TRAINING OF TUTORS

An indispensable step in developing a sound peer involvement program is training participants. While in some programs a part of the preservice training is offered to all participants--tutors and tutees alike--usually tutors receive separate orientation before a program begins. Often, some activities are first presented in preservice training and carried over into workshops, meetings, and other inservice activities.

In small programs, preservice training may be relatively informal; in larger ones, the training program often involves considerable advance planning and coordination. The major goals of preservice training, along with some procedures and activities for achieving them, are described in the following pages. Different programs, of course, will choose to emphasize different goals.

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Familiarizing Tutors with the Purpose
of the Program

All participants must understand the purpose of
a peer involvement program: who will be tutored,
why they will be tutored, and with what longer-range
goals. An explicit statement of program goals is
often made when tutors are being recruited. Even in
programs in which participation is mandatory, a
clear statement of purposes and goals lays the foun-
dation for the entire operation of the program.

Outlining Expectations and Responsibilities
of Tutors

Tutors must know as clearly as possible what
will be expected of them. Understanding their
responsibilities helps tutors make most efficient
use of time and avoids confusion. In the Whisman
Language Tutor Program (see pp. 67-68), a training
agenda details the procedures that tutors must
follow during the 30-minute period they spend with
their tutees as follows:

1. Signing in and out of the tutor room

2. Preparing and cleaning up materials and
work station

3. Escorting students to and from class

4. Reading commands and questions

5. Recording responses on the Scoring Sheet--
a slash for a correct answer and a 0 for an
incorrect response

6. Reinforcing responses with the word "Good"

7. Modeling incorrect responses correctly and
then repeating the stimulus, allowing the tutee to
respond

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8. totaling the responses and graphing the
results of the session's work. (Price & Dequine,
1982, p. 367)

In different programs, the tutoring, record-
keeping, consulting and evaluation responsibilities
of tutors will be explained differently, depending
on the age of the tutors and the degree to which
tutoring sessions are structured. Tutors who are to
receive academic credit or other compensation for
their participation also should be told the basis on
which such credit or compensation is offered.
Tutors also need to know what to do in case they
cannot be present at a tutoring session or in the
event that their tutee(s) cannot attend.

In an ongoing peer involvement program, an
activity that can help familiarize tutors with the
procedures they will follow is to have prospective
tutors observe the performance of students who are
currently tutoring. Learning by direct observation
is often much more effective than simply reading or
hearing an explanation of tutor responsibilities.

Outlining Responsibilities of
Other Participants

An explanation of the responsibilities of other
participants should accompany the outline of tutor
responsibilities. Again, depending on the size of
the program, training in this area will need to be
either relatively informal or very carefully struc-
tured. In all cases, however, tutors need to know
what kind of problems they should attempt to resolve
themselves and whom they should report other dif-
ficulties to. Depending on the program, the respon-
sibilities of tutees, teachers, administrators, and
the tutoring coordinator may all be explained.

Providing Tutors with the Opportunity
to Meet Each Other

An important function of preservice training is

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to enable tutors to establish bonds with each other and to develop a "team spirit." This is important even in programs in which most or all of the tutors already know each other or are in fact classmates. Particularly in programs in which tutors themselves will be responsible for developing materials and activities that will be used by other tutors, this aspect of the training program is essential. Tutors can be an important source of moral support for each other and can provide suggestions and ideas for more effective tutoring. These outcomes are only possible, however, when tutors have had the opportunity to develop a spirit of cooperation.

Sensitizing Tutors to the
"Helping Process"

Willingness and eagerness to work with other learners does not necessarily mean that tutors will know how to do so effectively. In many peer involvement programs, preservice training of tutors includes activities that make tutors aware of the ways in which they communicate. This becomes even more urgent when tutors work with individuals from a different language and cultural background. Particularly in programs in which native speakers with little second or foreign language learning experience or with little previous contact with individuals from different cultures will be tutors, these activities can alert tutors to potential difficulties and can prevent serious cross-cultural misunderstanding.

Examples of such activities are those used in the Conversation Tutor Program at the University of Southern Mississippi (described on pp. 78-81); three workshops (in this case conducted on an inservice basis) were given to tutors, each session stressing a different aspect of the tutoring process.

The first of these, based on techniques developed by Cope and Acton (1978), is entitled "Learning to Attend"; its goals are:

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to provide the tutor with skills to become
a more attentive person; to show the tutor
how this attentiveness will help him
become a better facilitator of communica-
tion; to learn how to use the skills which
maximize communication by the foreign
student and to minimize the verbalization
of the tutor. (Conerly, 1980, p. 67)

The second workshop is entitled "Barriers to
Communication"; the main activity is a problem-
solving task adapted from a lesson in the U.S. Army
race relations training program (U.S. Army, 1974).
Because the two participants in this exercise are
led to believe that they have the same information
(when in fact they do not), the exercise can make
tutors more sympathetic to the frustrations that
language learners experience when their best
attempts at communication break down. Thus, the
goal of this workshop is similar to that of an
activity widely used in teacher training: teaching
microlessons in an "exotic" language to remind
teachers of the frustrations involved when con-
fronted by an unfamiliar language.

The third workshop, "Nonverbal Language Cues
and Cross-Cultural Communication," involves a number
of activities designed to make tutors more conscious
of their own nonverbal behavior and to alert tutors
to the importance of nonverbal behavior in daily
interaction. The hope is that tutors will both
recognize cross-cultural differences in this area
and seek to help tutees become more aware of the
rules of nonverbal behavior in their new language
community.

Even when such extensive activities are not
feasible, some useful basic guidelines can be
offered to tutors. Almost always, some mention is
made of the importance of positive feedback. Tutors
are trained to correct mistakes without discouraging
their tutees. Usually, the importance of not pa-
tronizing learners also receives emphasis, as well
as the importance of establishing an informal atmos-
phere in which learners feel comfortable.

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Providing Tutors with Specific Guidelines

In most cases, particular characteristics of
tutees are known in advance, and training can focus
on specific techniques and procedures that will make
tutors work more effectively. Sometimes, tutors sit
in on the second or foreign language classes in
which their tutees are enrolled. This part of an
overall orientation can be very helpful in dem-
onstrating the abilities and characteristics of the
students the tutors will work with. Especially in
programs in which tutoring is intended to supplement
the course activities (and in which tutors will be
working in close consultation with the classroom
teacher), tutors need to be as familiar as possible
with what their tutees are doing in class and the
ways in which tutees respond to different classroom
events.

In other cases, specific suggestions can be
given for working with learners from a particular
cultural background. A good example of such guide-
lines can be found in the tutors' handbook ("Peer
Tutoring ...," 1982) prepared by the Center for
Studies in English as a Second Language at Boulder
(Colo.) High School. Among the "guidelines for suc-
cessful tutoring" are the following:

● To a Southeast Asian, the idea of "losing
face" often is unbearable. You may easily hurt the
feelings of a student if you are not careful.
Praise success and try to avoid failures.

● Speak distinctly and ask occasional discreet
questions to determine whether previous conversation
has been understood. Many Southeast Asian and Latin
American youngsters are reluctant to admit that they
don't understand something.

● Many ethnic groups feel that it is not polite
for young people to look at authority figures.
Don't expect students to "look you in the eye" when
they speak to you.

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● In many cultures it is considered very rude to touch another person on the shoulders or the head. Show pleasure with a smile or word of praise rather than with a pat on the back. (pp. 6-7)

Giving Tutors a Chance to Practice-Teach or Tutor

The value of providing tutors with the opportunity to practice-teach or tutor is obvious. Both for the tutors themselves and for supervisory personnel, it is a way to ensure that the procedures have been understood. For tutors, it is a way to overcome apprehensions about tutoring and to bolster confidence in their ability to be effective with the learners with whom they will be working.

Often, it is impractical to have tutors practice-teach with the learners they will actually be working with (or with learners of a similar age or level of proficiency). For this reason, microteaching and role-playing, in which tutors alternately play the roles of tutor and tutee with each other, are widely used whenever some practice tutoring is viewed as necessary. Constructive criticism by both teachers and fellow tutors can make prospective tutors more aware of their performance.

However extensive or limited preservice training of tutors is, it is probably most effective when done over two or more training sessions. A reasonable interval between sessions allows prospective peer teachers and tutors to think about what has been presented to them and allows them time to evaluate their commitment to the program. Two hours of training spread over three sessions is in general more likely to be effective than a single two-hour session.

ORIENTATION OF TUTEES

Before the beginning of a peer involvement

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program, tutees also should be made aware of the
purpose of the program and the reasons for which
they have been asked to participate. This is par-
ticularly important in selective programs: that is,
when only some learners in a class will receive peer
tutoring. It is also important for tutees to be
made aware of their responsibilities in the program;
in many programs, tutees are expected to keep
records of their attendance and to complete evalua-
tion forms on a periodic basis. Tutees must also
know what procedures have been established to
resolve problems. In many situations, this orien-
tation can be efficiently handled at an initial
meeting for both tutors and tutees.

While most of the orientation of tutees is
routine, there are situations in which this step
takes on special importance. The concept of peer
teaching and tutoring within the formal school
setting is unfamiliar to second language learners
from many cultures, and unless adequate measures are
taken to explain the program to tutees, the value of
the program may be seriously jeopardized.

A dramatic illustration of this liability is
given by Grant (1977), who reported on a very unsuc-
cessful attempt to introduce peer teaching in
American Samoa. Resistance to the notion of peer
teaching stemmed from two sources. First, there
were "ego conflicts" between tutors and learners
based on the participants' social background and
sex. Males did not like to be taught by females,
and students from families with high social status
resented being taught by more proficient students
from families with lower social status. In addi-
tion, there was a widespread reluctance among stu-
dents to view peers as capable of providing anything
of value; only the attention of the instructor was
deemed worthy of respect.[1]

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[1]
This same problem--the reluctance of students to
accept a peer teacher as a teacher--was one of
several factors affecting the effort to institute
peer teaching as an important instructional compo-

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This initial and often deep-seated resistance to the very concept of peer involvement is by no means unique to American Samoa. In different degrees, it exists in many communities as a by-product of the traditional authority conferred on adults in general and teachers in particular. Especially for second language learners newly arrived in a community, special efforts may have to be made to enlist their cooperation as tutees in a peer involvement program.

ORIENTATION OF TEACHERS

When peer teaching and tutoring is being instituted on a program-wide basis, orientation and training of teachers can be as crucial to the success of peer teaching and tutoring as anything that may be done to prepare the students themselves. The basic premise of peer involvement—that much of what is ordinarily done under the direction of a teacher can be done equally well, and in some cases more effectively, by students themselves—is difficult for many teachers to adjust to initially. In many educational systems, teachers may be resentful of any innovation that, as they perceive it, forces them to relinquish control of the classroom or to acknowledge that students can learn from other students. Unless an effort is made to enlist the cooperation of teachers, the value of a peer involvement program will be seriously undermined. Negative attitudes on the part of teachers will be perceived by students who may in turn be unwilling

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nent in the Samoan Demonstration Project (Douthit & Lung, 1974), an adult education program designed to provide disadvantaged adult Samoan immigrants to Hawaii with the means to compete for vocational and apprenticeship programs.

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to commit themselves wholeheartedly to working with
and for their peers.

Two additional difficulties must be anticipated
by program designers and coordinators. The first is
that even teachers who may be positively disposed to
the notion of greater peer involvement may find it
difficult to adopt the roles of facilitator, coun-
selor, and resource person, which they must play in
supervising peer-mediated classroom work and out-of-
class peer tutoring. In addition, teachers may feel
overburdened by any clerical responsibilities they
may be expected to assume on behalf of a cross-level
peer tutoring program.

SUPERVISION AND INSERVICE TRAINING OF TUTORS

Regardless of how thoroughly tutors have been
prepared for their responsibilities before a program
begins, periodic consultation between tutors and
supervising teachers is an important element in main-
taining the quality of a tutoring program. A proce-
dure that allows for consultation between individual
tutors and a supervisor and for occasional meetings
of groups of tutors and their supervisor can serve
three important functions. The first is providing
tutors with the opportunity to discuss problems they
may be experiencing with their tutee(s). Even in
the best of circumstances, occasional problems with
individual tutees will arise, and reports of prob-
lems by tutors will often need to be discussed with
the supervisor. In many cases, regular meetings
between tutors and the teacher(s) of the tutees may
be necessary in order to plan activities for sub-
sequent tutoring sessions. The supervisor may occa-
sionally need to consult with an individual tutor
about tutee dissatisfaction.

Second, occasional meetings between tutors and
their supervisors (or with the teachers of the
tutees) can be used to provide encouragement and
general suggestions. In small-scale programs, these
meetings can be quite informal and can take place

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between the supervisor or teacher and an individual
tutor. What is most important is that tutors
receive periodic support; to train tutors and then
to leave them on their own is not in the best
interests of either the tutors themselves or the
program. By contrast, favorable reports by teachers
on the progress of their students can sustain tutor
morale and help maintain their interest in their
work.

Third, meetings involving groups of tutors with
the supervisor and/or teachers can be useful in a
number of ways that, as much as anything else, main-
tain and increase the overall quality of the pro-
gram. Tutors can share successful activities and
techniques with each other; difficulties can be dis-
cussed. In the latter case, one tutor may be able
to suggest a solution to another, but even when this
does not happen, the realization that all tutors are
encountering both success and difficulty can help
each tutor put his or her own performance in a
proper perspective. Periodic group meetings can
also be used to continue activities that were first
presented in the preservice training or to introduce
new activities as the need arises. Finally, it may
be useful to provide tutors with a block of time
during which they can work as a group to plan activ-
ities for tutoring sessions such as communication
exercises, games, and so forth.

It is always difficult to schedule meeting
time, particularly for group meetings. While pro-
gram supervisors must also be careful not to make
excessive demands on tutors' time, they must recog-
nize that stimulating interaction among tutors and
providing for consultation between tutors and their
supervisors can be instrumental in maintaining tutor
enthusiasm, teacher support, and program quality.

MATERIALS

The materials and activities used in a cross-
level peer tutoring program will of course vary

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according to the age, proficiency level, program
goals, and target language of the participants.
While it is not possible to argue the merits of
materials independently of the program in which they
are to be used, it may nonetheless be useful to
categorize the materials as follows.

Classroom Text Materials

In some programs, students will teach or tutor
other students using the same materials as the
tutees use in their language classroom. Tutoring
sessions review and reinforce material already
covered in class.

Supplementary Material

Exercises and activities that are based
directly on classroom work and that provide tutees
with additional opportunity to learn what has been
covered in class are often used in peer tutoring.
Frequently, teachers have students do only some of a
number of exercises in the text on a particular
teaching point; those that are not done in class,
either for lack of time or when it is felt that most
students have learned the point being taught, can be
used in peer tutoring sessions, especially with stu-
dents who need additional practice in order to keep
up with faster students.

Expansion and Independent Materials
and Activities

Materials and activities in this category would
include communication games and tasks, self-
contained teaching units, and realia that take stu-
dents beyond the material actually covered in class
or that demand of learners that they use what they
have learned in new ways.
In deciding to base peer teaching or tutoring
sessions on one or another kind of material, program

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coordinators and teachers must also decide how to provide tutors with access to materials; in the case of the latter two categories, decisions about developing appropriate materials may also come into play:

● In the case of classroom text materials, tutors must have ready access to the materials. The easiest solution would be to have enough copies of the text so that each tutor could have a personal copy for as long as he or she is tutoring. Where this is not possible, at least some copies of the text should be made available for tutors to consult in planning tutoring sessions (even when the content of the tutoring session will be determined by the teacher).

● For supplementary and expansion materials, teachers should seek alternatives to taking sole responsibility for providing such materials. One approach is for two or more participating teachers to pool their resources. Students themselves can in many cases share responsibility for designing and creating materials: supplementary drills, games, realia, and so on.

In the interschool peer-teaching program described by Biehn (see pp. 91-94), tutors spent the academic quarter preceding the beginning of the program designing teaching units. These were then placed in a central file accessible to all tutors. Tutors can also be encouraged to write up any activity or exercise they have designed during their tutoring experience to add to the file. In addition, tutors can be assigned the task of going through one or more sources of activities for pair and small-group work and to bring particularly attractive ideas to the attention of the entire staff (examples of sources are given in Chapter 2).

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EVALUATION

Systematic evaluation of a cross-level peer
tutoring program by tutors and tutees alike is im-
portant for a number of reasons. First, reports on
student progress may be used by teachers to deter-
mine the content of subsequent tutoring sessions as
well as to gauge the benefits the program is pro-
viding. Reports by tutors and tutees can also
provide the kind of information that administrators,
parents, and advisors expect about a new program.
For the program coordinator, reports from partici-
pants are an essential source of information about
what is working and what needs to be changed.

In large peer-teaching and -tutoring programs,
tutors and tutees regularly complete progress report
forms, questionnaires, or journals in which they
evaluate their own progress and the performance of
their peer partners. Even in small programs, the use
of short progress report forms is recommended as a
supplement to informal consultation between tutors
and their supervisors or between tutees and their
classroom teacher. Many students feel more comfort-
able expressing their feelings on a written form,
as long as the form is not too long or tedious. In
addition, the use of written evaluations makes prog-
ress reporting easier to conduct on a regular basis
and simplifies the record-keeping process.

Reports by tutors should include information
about the performance of the tutee(s) and the bene-
fits of the program for the tutors themselves.
Tutees should also be asked to evaluate both their
tutors' performance and their own progress. In this
way, a fuller picture of the value of the program in
the eyes of the participants can be obtained, and
the functioning of individual pairings or groupings
can be better understood.

Progress reports or questionnaires to be
completed by tutors can address some or all of the
following questions:

● Do the tutees arrive on time and attend
sessions regularly?

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● Do the tutees appear to be interested in the sessions? Are they cooperative? Do they participate actively?

● Have the tutees been making progress? Can the tasks and activities be completed as planned?

● What deficiencies have been most detrimental to the tutoring sessions? In what areas do tutees appear to need additional help?

● How do tutors rate their own performance? What do they perceive as their greatest strengths and weaknesses? Are there any aspects of their participation with which they do not feel comfortable?

● Do tutees appear to enjoy the sessions? Do the tutors themselves enjoy the sessions?

In a similar manner, tutee reports can deal with several different questions:

● Do the tutors create a comfortable learning environment for students?

● Are tutors adequately prepared for each session? Are the sessions well-planned? Are the tutors effective in helping students understand what they are to do and in providing appropriate assistance?

● Do the tutors seem interested in the progress of their students? What are their strengths and weaknesses?

● Do the tutees feel that they are making progress? What do they feel would help enhance the value of the tutoring sessions?

● Do tutees enjoy the sessions? Do they feel that peer tutoring is an effective format for language learning?

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Which of these areas are addressed, and how
they are phrased, will of course vary from program
to program. Tutor reports completed after each ses-
sion will tend to focus more on the actual content
of the sessions (and thus provide more of a log of
activities and material covered); reports completed
biweekly or monthly will tend to be more broadly
evaluative in nature. The wording of the questions
on an evaluation form must of course be carefully
geared to the age and ability level of the partici-
pants; in general, however, evaluation forms should
allow for comments, in addition to any "limited-
option" items (yes/no, multiple choice, or scales)
that may appear on the forms.

Three sample progress report/evaluation forms
are provided in Figures 5.1-3. Forms such as these,
adapted to the needs of a program and used on a reg-
ular basis, can provide valuable information about
the strengths and weaknesses of the program itself,
as well as the performance of program participants.

A PLANNING CHECKLIST FOR
PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

In developing a cross-level peer involvement
program, a checklist of tasks to be completed can be
useful. The sample checklist in Figure 5.4 can be
used as presented, or it can be modified to suit the
needs of any particular school setting. In either
case, the tasks need not be done in the order
listed, and program designers should feel free to
combine two or more tasks wherever appropriate.

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Tutor: _____ Session Date: _____

Number of students attending: _____

Summary of activities:* _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Evaluation of session	Unsatis-factory			Satis-factory	
Student interest	1	2	3	4	5
Cooperation	1	2	3	4	5
Student performance	1	2	3	4	5
Tutor's self-evaluation	1	2	3	4	5
Overall usefulness of tutoring session	1	2	3	4	5

Comments: _____

_____

_____
*If tutors have been given a lesson plan to follow,
they may need only to note deviations or omissions
from the planned activities.

Figure 5.1. Session report (submitted by tutor to
classroom teacher).

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CONVERSATIONAL GROUP EVALUATION FORM
(Prepare at end of ten hours)

Student's Name: _____ Section: _____

Tutor: _____

Evaluation:

3 = "good"
2 = "fair"
1 = "poor"

Cooperation and consideration
for tutor and group   ( )

Interest in activity and conversation   ( )

Attended sessions regularly   ( )

Effort to speak   ( )

Progress in speaking   ( )

Comments on student if desired:

_____

_____

_____

Figure 5.2. Tutor report form.

_____
Note. Taken from Conerly (1980, p. 126). The
Conversation Tutor Program in which this form is
used is described on pp. 78-81.

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```
                                    _____
                                    (Student's name)

                                    _____
                                    Date(s) of session(s)


Please answer the questions below.

1. Did you enjoy your tutoring
   session(s)?                      YES   SOMETIMES   NO

2. Was your tutor prepared and
   organized?                       YES   SOMETIMES   NO

3. Do you feel that you have
   learned from your session(s)?    YES   SOMETIMES   NO

4. Does your tutor help you
   feel comfortable about the
   tutoring sessions?               YES   SOMETIMES   NO

5. Were the activities
   enjoyable?                       YES   SOMETIMES   NO

What did you like best about the session(s)?

_____

_____

What did you like least about the session(s)?

_____

_____

Are you satisfied with your own
performance in the sessions?        YES        NO
```

Figure 5.3. Questionnaire for students.

_____

Note. Based on Koskinen and Wilson (1982, p. 95).

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Task	Completed[a]
Select a coordinator (or establish a coordinating system)	
Identify needs and resources	_____
Establish initial program goals	_____
Enlist support of teacher, administrators, parents, advisors	_____
Recruit tutors:	
Develop a recruitment strategy (including publicity and compensation to be offered)	
Establish selection procedures	_____
Determine initial program design:	_____
Content of tutoring sessions (including materials required)	
Length of tutoring sessions	_____
Scheduling of sessions	_____
Pairing or grouping procedures	_____
Teacher involvement	_____
Tutor, tutee, and teacher responsibilities	_____
Administrative procedures (including record-keeping, consultation with tutors, and progress reporting)	_____
Provide for acquisition, development, and storage of materials	_____
Preservice training of tutors	_____
Orientation of tutees	_____
Orientation of participating teachers	_____
Inservice training of tutors	_____
Program evaluation	_____

_____

[a] A check or "X" can be used to indicate that a task has been completed; an "N.A." can be used for tasks that are not applicable to a particular program.

Figure 5.4. A planning checklist for program development.

Note. This is an adapted version of a "Checklist for Administrators" in Koskinen and Wilson (1982, p. 104).

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In many ways, greater involvement of peers in each
other's learning can provide a rich and productive
supplement to the second or foreign language class-
room experience. Peer involvement casts learners
and their teachers into new roles--roles that may
lead to a number of pedagogical and other benefits.
At the same time, peer teaching and tutoring can
enrich the total educational and social environment
in which learners find themselves.

In this section, the pedagogical, social, and
affective benefits of peer involvement are summar-
ized. First, however, it cannot be overemphasized
that *peer involvement is not a panacea.* All too
often, an educational practice that solves some
problems is promoted as a solution to all problems.
This is as true of peer teaching and tutoring as it
is of any other educational practice. Not all ben-
efits will result from every experiment in peer
teaching and tutoring. Sometimes--especially when a
peer involvement program is poorly conceived or in-
adequately administered--precisely the opposite of
what is hoped for may result. In many ways, how-
ever, peer involvement can do much to enrich learn-
ers' experience of the conventional classroom.

PEDAGOGICAL BENEFITS OF PEER INVOLVEMENT

Increased Individualization

Peer tutoring allows for differential pacing.
Students who master material more slowly can receive

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additional exposure to material through individual
or small-group work with a tutor. The remedial
benefits of peer involvement have been widely
observed; a consistent finding of research on peer
tutoring is that tutees often acquire skills that
they could not or would not acquire in the conven-
tional classroom setting (Sarbin, 1976).

Intensified Drill Practice

When peer involvement is used primarily to
reinforce language classroom drills, students
obtain, in purely arithmetic terms, considerably
more practice opportunities than are available in
the classroom itself. All students potentially
benefit from increased practice in skill-getting
activities. Those students who find the large-
group, public, and sometimes competitive nature of
the classroom intimidating are likely to find peer
tutoring especially helpful.

Increased Communication Opportunities

Peer involvement can be especially helpful in
developing learners' ability to "use" the target
language. The structure of the conventional
classroom, as well as the authoritative role that
most teachers play in classroom activity, makes
attempts at "real" communication in the language
classroom somewhat inauthentic. The more intimate
nature of small-group or one-to-one peer tutoring,
the more equal role relationship that exists between
age-peers, and the focus of peer tutoring on the
needs of the individual learner or small group all
produce an environment conducive to communicative
activity. An environment that stimulates and
encourages language acquisition is fostered by peer
tutoring, which is "interactive, responsive, depen-
dent on supportive, encouraging human beings who
believe the function of a message is far more impor-
tant than the form in which it is sent" (Urzua,
1980, p. 43).

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SOCIO-AFFECTIVE BENEFITS OF PEER INVOLVEMENT

Increased Motivation

Research on peer interaction (e.g., Beach,
1974; Littlejohn, 1982) argues for the value of peer
involvement in increasing motivation. Proficient
peers are excellent target-language role models for
learners. When a beginning foreign language learner
interacts with a more proficient learner, the begin-
ner comes into closer contact with someone who has
undergone frustrations similar to those the beginner
may be experiencing. The more proficient learner
provides vivid evidence that the learner's goals are
attainable, and the result is often increased moti-
vation to persevere. In some cases, the result of a
peer tutoring program has been a reduction in course
attrition.

Even when it is used only on an occasional in-
class basis, peer tutoring techniques can inject
variety into classroom activity and relieve the
boredom and monotony of teacher-centered instruction
(Statman, 1980), and thus maintain a higher level of
student motivation.

Strengthened Cross-Cultural Understanding

One of the greatest potential benefits of peer
involvement programs in which native speakers and
language learners interact is the greater respect
and tolerance that each group develops toward the
other. Peer involvement programs can be a valuable
means for fostering meaningful contact between
groups and are often the basis of important social
contact and friendships.

In addition to helping establish social bonds
between native speakers and learners, peer involve-
ment can reduce tensions that already exist and
promote an institution-wide spirit of cooperation.
When students are involved in the progress of
others, a cooperative, rather than a competitive,
atmosphere is produced. This advantage can have

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ramifications far beyond any single classroom, as
Elliott (1973) points out:

> Perhaps the most compelling reason for
> the use of students as tutors is to change
> the social-psychological climate of the
> school from individual competitiveness to
> concern for each other. The basis of this
> concern must be the individual's ability
> to be aware of another person's feelings
> and the meaning of what he says and does.
> There must be recognition that each person
> has a place, that his ideas are valued and
> his feelings relevant. (p. 538)

Strengthened Self-Concept and
Sense of Self-Direction

One of the most acclaimed benefits of peer
involvement is its effect on both tutees' and
tutors' self-concept and self-direction. For
tutees, systematic interaction with peers can do
much to counteract the dependence on a teacher that
traditional instructor-centered classrooms tend to
breed. Tutees benefit from the experience of com-
municating (or at least working toward communica-
tion) with a peer model specifically concerned with
their progress in the target language. The activi-
ties on which many peer involvement programs are
based allow learners greater opportunity to discover
how they themselves learn best and how they can use
the skills they have already acquired. Finally,
peer involvement programs tend to cause learners to
measure their progress against their own expecta-
tions and goals, rather than against the performance
of an entire group of learners.

An equally important benefit of peer involve-
ment is the effect produced on the tutor. Quite
simply, one learns a great deal in helping another
to learn. In a review of research on cross-age
tutoring, Sarbin (1976) reports that, in many cases,
tutors' academic performance improved as much as, or
more than, that of tutees. It is easy to understand

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this phenomenon. One need only remember how often
teachers say with complete seriousness that they
learned more from teaching a course than their stu-
dents could ever have learned, no matter how well
the course had been taught. Like any other kind of
teaching, peer teaching and tutoring require much
more thoughtful attention to the subject matter than
is often required of students in a large, teacher-
centered classroom. Furthermore, responsibility for
the learning of another student can provide a focus
for a tutor's own learning efforts:

> In many cases, the specific needs of the
> tutee can help direct the learning efforts
> of the tutor, since in the process of
> helping he gains immediate access to the
> tutee's needs and his ability and re-
> sources to meet them. The realization
> that another student is depending on him
> for assistance and, indeed, sometimes for
> survival in the course gives him the stim-
> ulus he needs to redirect his own learning
> efforts. (Heard, 1972, p. 318)

Reduced Inhibition

A widely observed benefit of peer involvement
is its particular value for students who are uncom-
fortable in the large-group, "public" classroom.
Learners who are inhibited by the dominating figure
of the teacher or by the presence of a large number
of classmates often open up in the more intimate,
nurturing atmosphere of small-group or one-to-one
peer interaction. When a learner interacts with a
native-speaker peer, peer tutoring can be an "ice-
breaker" for establishing acquaintanceships with
other native speakers of the language.

It was noted at the beginning of this volume
that peer involvement in language learning is an
idea whose time has come. This view is supported by
research, and it is justified even more by the num-
ber of successful attempts to make language learners
more responsible for each other's progress than can

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be the case in the conventional teacher-centered
classroom. In an era when the language-teaching
profession is more conscious than ever of the need
to consider alternatives to the traditional class-
room, peer involvement may be a cornerstone of a new
teacher-learner relationship and the basis for more
effective and meaningful second and foreign language
learning.

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[APPENDIX: A SUMMARY OF RESEARCH ON PEER INVOLVEMENT
IN LANGUAGE LEARNING]

This section summarizes the findings of several
studies that have investigated the effects of peer
involvement in language learning under controlled
conditions. That is, each study involved systematic
observation of the peer tutoring process, systematic
measurement of outcomes, or both. This review is in
no way meant to be comprehensive; even the small
number of studies reviewed here, however, reflect a
variety of research approaches to the problem of
assessing the effects of peer involvement.

Two notes of caution should be introduced.
First, as is inevitable in summaries such as this,
many of the details of the individual studies have
been omitted. Readers can obtain a much clearer
understanding of the rationale of the studies and
the procedures used by consulting the studies them-
selves. Second, the findings of the studies offer
only initial answers to the questions they pose.
Individually and collectively, these studies repre-
sent a first step toward a more precise understand-
ing of the effects of peer involvement in second and
foreign language learning.

An early attempt to study the effects of peer
tutoring in language learning was Langr's (1973)
study of beginning-level college Spanish students.
One of three existing sections of the beginning
Spanish course at the University of Minnesota-Duluth
was designated as the experimental group; the other
two sections became the control group. The treat-
ment consisted of help that the researcher provided
to the experimental group in organizing and sched-
uling out-of-class peer-tutoring sessions. These

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sessions were entirely voluntary; they were supplements to classroom contact time (which was uniform for all three sections, each of which was taught by the same three teachers on a rotating basis) and in no way figured into the grading system of the course. Except for periodic encouragement that the "experimental" group received to maintain these peer tutoring relationships, the treatment extended no further; neither the content nor the procedures of the tutoring sessions were controlled.

Langr's study provided some evidence for the value of peer involvement. Subjects in the experimental section spent a mean of 10.09 hours in peer interaction during the academic quarter during which the experiment was conducted. By contrast, students in the control group spent an average of only 2.44 hours in student-initiated out-of-classroom peer work. Only on the oral production achievement posttest did the experimental students perform significantly better ($p = .05$) than the control group; however, on ten of the 11 criterion measures—composite score of five progress tests given during the course of the quarter, scores on each of five posttreatment achievement tests, and gain scores, pretest to posttest, on each of the five achievement tests—the mean of the experimental group was higher than that of the control group.

The studies under review here present mixed, though not necessarily conflicting, evidence on the affective and attitudinal effects of peer tutoring. Langr's experimental section engaged in purely voluntary and student-developed peer tutoring for four times as many hours as the control sections, which received no encouragement to organize peer tutoring. This difference suggests that the experimental students must have perceived some benefit to such sessions and experienced some enjoyment from them. The results of a student opinion measure given after the experiment suggest; however, that their interest may have been largely instrumental; the attitude of the experimental students toward Spanish and the course they were taking was no more positive than that of the control students.

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A very different approach to the study of the
effects of peer involvement from that used by Langr
can be seen in Stryker's (1975) study of patterns of
use of French and English in verbal peer interac-
tions at the Washington International School.
Stryker's research on peer interactions was part of
a three-level investigation of the sociolinguistic
environment of the school, which was founded in 1966
to provide bilingual education for children in the
international community of Washington, D.C., as well
as for local families. At the macrosociolinguistic
level, the focus was on the principles of the school
regarding language use, its academic structures and
organization. At the "midsociolinguistic" level,
the researcher investigated the linguistic expecta-
tions, curricula, and schedules of a single second-
to-third-grade classroom in the school. Dyadic peer
interactions involving five limited-English students
were the basis of the third level of analysis, the
microsociolinguistic level.

Whereas Langr's research was product-oriented
--focusing on the results of peer interaction--
Stryker's study is process-centered; through both
participant and nonparticipant observation, Stryker
sought to determine the nature of the larger envi-
ronment in which peer pairs interacted and the char-
acteristics and evolution of the peer interactions
themselves. Stryker hypothesized that in this
bilingual school environment, limited-English
students would speak the language used by their
role-reciprocals, subject to (a) the linguistic ex-
pectations in the situation, (b) the dominant lan-
guage of their peer group, and (c) their competence
in the language.

The general principle on which the Washington
International School was based was complete two-way
bilingualism. This was the expectation for all stu-
dents, and it was reflected in the use of the two
languages (French and English or Spanish and Eng-
lish) on alternate days. At the macro level, one
can think of the school as constituting an experi-
mental treatment, at least metaphorically, by con-
trast with the status of French (or Spanish) in the
conventional whole-school context. At the midsocio-

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linguistic level (the single classroom observed),
however, there were already signs of a conflict;
while English and French were to be used exclusively
on alternate days, English--the dominant language of
the majority of the students--"intruded" on peer
interactions in the classroom on days when French
was to be used exclusively, although the reverse--
the use of French in peer interactions in the
classroom on days when English was to be used--did
not occur.

This tendency for English to be used in peer
interactions was even more pronounced in out-of-
class interactions. Regardless of the child's lan-
guage background, once the child knew both English
and French, he or she would use English everywhere
except in the French classroom, when required to
speak French by the teacher. Furthermore, outside
of the French classroom, French was used between
peers only in dyads isolated from the group and when
both speakers had a French background or one was new
to English; however, even in such French-speaking
dyads, the bilingual speaker would begin, after a
few months, to use English in reply to the new-
comer's French.

Johnson (1980) studied the effects on second
language acquisition of peer tutoring in a seven-
week bilingual summer program at Stanford Univer-
sity's experimental school. Her subjects were 16
limited-English-speaking (LES) Mexican-American
children and 18 fluent English-speaking (FES) chil-
dren. The children ranged from five to nine years
of age. A matched-pairs experimental design was
used; the LES children were matched on a composite
score of English language proficiency and initial
amount of interaction with FES children. One child
in each limited-English pair was then randomly
assigned to the treatment group; the other was
assigned to the control group. The FES children
were matched on age and sex and were then randomly
assigned to either the experimental or control
group.

The experimental treatment involved a total of
14 one-hour peer tutoring sessions in which an LES
child was paired with an FES child. The purpose of

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the tutoring was to provide social contact between
children of the two ethnolinguistic groups and to
provide the LES children with successful experiences
communicating in English. Children in the control
group did the same activities as those in the peer
tutoring sessions, but they were done in large-
group, teacher-directed, one-hour sessions. Teach-
ers in this summer program alternated weekly between
the treatment and control groups; in this way, their
potential effect on the performance of either group
was controlled.

Two hypotheses were investigated. The first
was the expectation that LES children would, as a
result of their peer tutoring experience, interact
verbally with FES children more than the LES
children who had participated in the large-group,
teacher-directed sessions. It was also predicted
that there would be a positive correlation between
frequency of verbal interaction with FES children
and gains in English language proficiency by LES
children.

Following the treatment period, Johnson ob-
served her subjects from both the experimental and
control groups during periods when the subjects were
free to interact with children of their choice in
the language of their choice. A special observa-
tional instrument--the Language Use and Interaction
System (LUIS)--was used to record the setting in
which the interaction took place, characteristics of
the addressee, the language used, and the specific
nature of utterances. Each subject was observed
individually for 20 to 40 minutes a week.

Analysis of the data from these observations
showed that the LES children who had participated in
peer tutoring sessions interacted in English with
FES children to a greater degree than the LES chil-
dren in the control group.

The subjects in Johnson's study were pre- and
posttested on three measures of English language
proficiency: the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test,
the Language Assessment Scales, and the Child-Child
Communication Test. Only on the first of these did
the experimental group--the children who had engaged

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in peer tutoring--significantly outperform the control group.

August's (1982) investigation of reciprocal peer teaching, described on pp. 74-76, was designed in such a way as to permit examination of the effect of peer interaction on the acquisition of both English and Spanish. The experimental treatment consisted of 30 one-hour peer tutoring sessions. The control group in each part of the experiment consisted of a group of children who were receiving conventional second language instruction (the Distar Language Program).

The main issues the study addressed were, first, the effect of peer tutoring on the amount of interaction between children acquiring a second language and fluent peer speakers of the language and, second, the relationship between amount of interaction with native-speaker peers and second language acquisition.

August measured the frequency and proportion of the target language used by the limited-English and limited-Spanish subjects in two settings--in free play and in a structured situation (the latter con- sisting of a block-building task in which one experimental or control subject--either a limited- English or a limited-Spanish child--two fluent Eng- lish-speaking children, and two bilingual children participated). It was found that in the structured setting the limited-English children who had received the experimental treatment (30 one-hour peer tutoring sessions in which the less proficient child has served as a tutor) interacted with fluent English speakers to a greater extent than children from the control group. By contrast, the peer tutoring sessions failed to increase the amount of Spanish that the limited-Spanish subjects used with their peers.

The Johnson (1980) and August (1982) findings are based on observations following or concurrent with an experimental treatment; they are thus of a somewhat different nature from the Stryker (1975) data. In Stryker's study, the preference for English as the language of dyadic peer interaction appears to stem from the fact that English was the

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dominant language of a majority of children in the classroom that the researcher observed. The relationship between individual peer interactions and the larger sociolinguistic context may help to explain the findings of Johnson and August--in particular, the results of the August (1982) study, in which peer tutoring affected the amount of interaction in English between limited-English children and fluent English-speaking children but not the amount of interaction between limited-Spanish children and fluent Spanish-speaking children. It may well be that the effectiveness of peer tutoring in promoting greater use of the target language depends on the language use patterns in the larger sociolinguistic context. In other words, peer tutoring may be more productive in some situations than in others.

This is the conclusion of Chesterfield, Chesterfield, Hayes-Latimer, and Chavez (1983), who studied the interactional patterns of 11 Spanish-speaking preschool children enrolled in two different bilingual programs. In one program, classrooms had a majority of Spanish-speaking children; in the other, there was a majority of English-speaking children in the classrooms. As a result of their observation of these 11 subjects over the course of one year, the researchers reached the following conclusion:

> Once limited English speakers achieve a
> minimal level of competence ... the lin-
> guistic composition of the class should be
> taken into consideration in determining
> the most effective means of facilitating
> these children's acquisition of English.
> In classrooms where English speaking chil-
> dren predominate, interactions with these
> children were found to be a factor in the
> acquisition of English by limited speakers
> of that language. Hence, teachers in such
> classrooms might promote peer interaction
> by structuring some learning activities as
> cooperative tasks to be worked on by small
> linguistically heterogeneous groups of
> children ... where a balance of limited

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English-speaking children and English-speaking children exists, children of different language proficiencies might be paired to work on individual tasks. In classrooms made up largely of limited-English speakers, on the other hand, the children's second language development might be best facilitated through learning activities that emphasize adult-child interactions. (p. 417)

Sapiens (1982) studied the cognitive and affective effects of peer tutoring involving both fluent bilingual and English monolingual Chicano tutors. The tutors were all high-achieving tenth graders; the tutees were partial bilingual Chicano tenth graders who had been classified (according to CAT grade-equivalent scores) as low achievers. Language proficiency for tutors and tutees was determined by scores on the BOLT-Spanish and BOLT-English. In all, 20 same-sex pairs participated in the study.

The peer tutoring consisted of three 15-minute lessons on latitude and longitude. An adaptation of the Bellack, Kliebard, Hyman, and Smith (1966) system for analyzing verbal interaction was used to code the function and content of verbal interactions in the sessions (which had been audiotaped and transcribed). Criterion-referenced tests were given to assess the effectiveness of peer tutoring sessions. The goal of the study was to determine which peer tutoring relationships were most closely linked to learning effectiveness and what characteristics of the tutoring sessions themselves might be related to the success of the sessions.

This study is noteworthy also for making peer pairing a central issue. In other studies, subjects are often matched on certain variables, with the effect of precluding certain comparisons: for example, between same-sex and different-sex peer pairings. At any rate, sample sizes are in general too small to permit a valid comparison of the effects of different pairings.

The principal comparison examined by Sapiens was between English monolingual Chicano tutors and

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fluent bilingual Chicano tutors working with partial
bilingual Chicano tutees. As measured by criterion-
referenced instruments, the students tutored by the
bilingual tutors showed significantly more growth
than those who had monolingual tutors. Sapiens'
analysis of the tutoring sessions themselves pro-
vides a number of insights that might help explain
these results. While tutors were in general much
more verbally active than the tutees--the tutors
accounted for 67% of all pedagogical moves and 92%
of all initiating moves--the tutees with bilingual
tutors were considerably more active in their dyads
than their counterparts with monolingual tutors;
tutees with bilingual tutors made 60% of all tutee
moves. This more active role by tutees with bilin-
gual tutors reflects their use of English in the
tutoring sessions; it is important to note that
fewer than 1% of all moves in the sessions involving
bilingual tutors were in Spanish.

Sapiens found no other significant differences:
Male and female dyads performed comparably, and
there was no evidence in favor of a more structured
approach to the tutoring sessions. Similarly, no
significant differences on the measures used to
assess attitudinal outcomes between tutees with
monolingual tutors and those with bilingual tutors
were found, despite the fact that the latter had
made considerably greater cognitive gains.

The relative effectiveness of peer and teacher
evaluation of compositions written by ESL students
was the focus of a study by Partridge (1981). She
was principally concerned with the value of peer
involvement as a technique, rather than with its
general contribution to second language acquisition
or cognitive growth. Twelve ESL students enrolled
in a composition course for foreign students at the
University of Hawaii provided the original drafts
and rewritten essays for the study. The original
drafts and rewritten essays from six writing assign-
ments given over a period of several weeks were cho-
sen by the researcher for rating by a total of six
native-speaker judges. Three of the six originals
for each student had been corrected by the teacher
(the experimenter); the other three originals of

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each student had been corrected by one of the
students' peers.

Each judge received a total of 72 essays to
judge: the originals and the rewrites for all six
assignments for each of six students. They were
given no information about the identity of the stu-
dents, whether the essay was an original or a
rewrite, or whether peer or teacher correction had
been used. The raters used a holistic analytic
scale that was regularly used to evaluate com-
positions in the English Language Institute at the
University of Hawaii.

The ratings assigned by the judges were ana-
lyzed to determine the relative effectiveness of
peer and teacher correction as a means to improve
the original drafts of compositions written by ESL
students. Results showed that the rewritten ver-
sions, taken collectively, were judged to be of
significantly higher quality than the original
drafts. However, the teacher-corrected original
drafts were much more instrumental in this improve-
ment than the peer-corrected drafts. A comparison
of each original with its rewritten version showed
that each of the three rewrites based on teacher
corrections was judged significantly better than its
original; only one of the three rewrites based on
peer corrections was rated as significantly better
than its original. It should be noted, however,
that interrater agreement in this experiment, while
judged acceptable by the experimenter, was far lower
than what is normally expected to indicate adequate
interrater reliability.

Partridge administered two questionnaires to 16
students in the composition class from which the
teacher- and peer-corrected compositions were taken
for her study. Most of the students felt they
learned something from correcting their peers' com-
positions. The majority claimed that they enjoyed
having their own compositions corrected by their
peers, although students tended to enjoy correcting
the compositions of others more than having their
own compositions corrected. Nonetheless, the stu-
dents felt, in general, that their teachers' com-
ments were more useful than their peers'. The

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conclusion seemed to be that the students were not so convinced of the value of their peers' correc- tions that they would rely any more heavily than previously on the advice and recommendations of their fellow language learners.

The Fitz-Gibbon and Reay (1982) study of cross- level (intergrade) tutoring in French (described on pp. 86-88) provides the most striking evidence in support of peer tutoring. The 11 low-achieving fourth-year tutors had scored a mean of 28.9 on the 60-item test that was administered before and after the experiment; the 25 high-achieving fourth-year French students who served as a comparison group had a mean of 44.2. The tutees, who had had no previous formal instruction in French, had a mean score of 5.0 on the same pretest measure.

The treatment consisted of six 30-minute ses- sions over a period of three weeks. At the end of the period, posttest scores showed several striking results. The tutors themselves had a mean posttest score of 41.4, only slightly less than the mean pre- test score of the high-achieving students. The tutees had a mean posttest score of 28.7. In other words, after just six sessions of peer tutoring they had scored, on average, as high as the tutors had originally scored. Even more impressive, perhaps, was the longer-term effect of these sessions:

Some four months later, having occasion- ally encountered some of the topics which had been tutored but still having had no formal instruction except from tutors, tutees' were given the same test again, un- announced. They achieved an average score of 50% (raw mean, 30.3), showing excellent retention. In short, in six lessons the tutees had learned the materials up to the original level of the tutors; a gain which was still evident four months later. (p. 41)

As Fitz-Gibbon and Reay (1982) point out, it is difficult to measure enjoyment of a peer tutoring

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experience. It is even more difficult to assess the
longer-term affective and attitudinal effects of
such an experience, except indirectly through such
measures as attrition rates and statements of
willingness to engage in further peer tutoring
experiences.

The strongest evidence of an effect of peer
tutoring on attitudes, however, comes from the
Fitz-Gibbon and Reay experiment. Based on the way
tutors and their high-achieving, fourth-year peers
(who were in essence a control group) ranked their
school subjects in order of preference before and
after the tutoring project, the tutoring experience
can-be seen as having significantly changed the
tutors' attitude toward French. By the end of the
experience, they ranked French almost exactly as did
their high-achieving, fourth-year peers. In fact,
the tutors' attitudes toward French improved con-
siderably more than the tutees', lending further
support to the argument that peer involvement pro-
vides benefits for those who do the tutoring as well
as for those who receive it.

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this volume (such items are labeled with an aster-
isk) and suggestions for further reading. Each
entry is followed by a code in parentheses, which
identifies the specific topic or area addressed.
The following table presents the topics by which the
entries in this bibliography are classified:

A   Background
B ⁓   Peer involvement in second language learning:
          General
B1   Peer involvement programs in second language
          learning: K-8
B2   Peer involvement programs in second language
          learning: 9-12
B3   Peer involvement programs in second language
          learning: University level and adult education
C   Peer involvement programs in foreign language
          learning: General
C1   Peer involvement programs in foreign language
          learning: K-8
C2   Peer involvement programs in foreign language
          learning: 9-12
C3   Peer involvement programs in foreign language
          learning: University level and adult education
D   Peer involvement programs: development, admin-
          istration and evaluation
E   Research on peer involvement
F   Materials and activities
G   Bibliographies

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Stephen J. Gaies, Ph.D., is Associate Professor of
English and Linguistics in the Department of English
Language & Literature, University of Northern Iowa,
where he teaches undergraduate courses in linguis-
tics and English education and graduate courses in
the M.A. in TESOL Program. He is also Director of
the UNI Culture and Intensive English Program.
Gaies has taught at Indiana University, where he
obtained his doctorate, and the University of
Minnesota, and taught French and Spanish for several
years at the junior high, senior high, and college
levels. He has published in a variety of journals
(including *TESOL Quarterly* and *Studies in Second
Language Acquisition*) and anthologies in the areas
of second language acquisition, language testing,
language classroom research, and first language
composition research. Gaies has been Co-Chair of
the Annual Colloquium on Classroom Centered Research
since 1979. He is a past President of MIDTESOL and
has served as a consultant, lecturer, and seminar
leader in Yugoslavia and Egypt. He is coauthor
(with Dick Allwright) of *Focus on the Language
Classroom* (to be published by Cambridge University
Press in 1985). Gaies is the Acting Editor of the
TESOL Quarterly.

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